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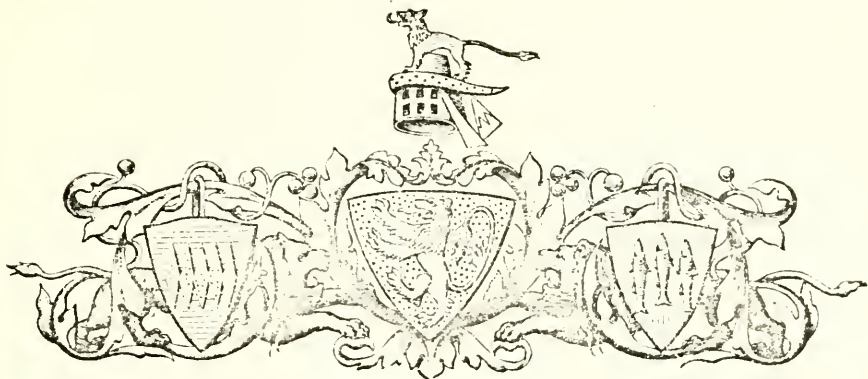
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Annals
OF
The House of Percy,

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE OPENING
OF THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

1837

BY
EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FONBLANQUE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

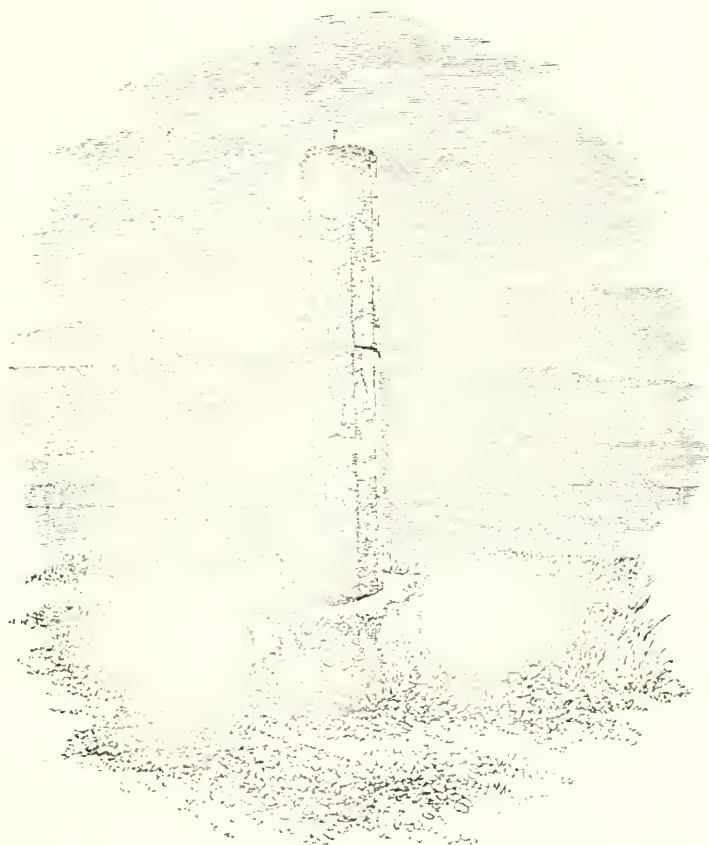
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PERCY'S CROSS.



CHAPTER VII.

Henry Percy, Fourth Earl of Northumberland, R.G.

Born, 1446.

Restored, 6th October, 1473.

Died, 28th April, 1489.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

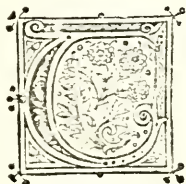
Henry VI.

Edward IV.

Edward V., *acc.* 1483

Richard III., „ 1483

Henry VII., „ 1485



THE shifting political course which throughout an entire century was pursued by the great houses of England, and which serves to mark the dynastic vicissitudes of that troubled period, is strikingly illustrated in the Percy family.

A.D.
1446-1489
—

The first Earl of Northumberland had been a powerful champion of the claims of his kinsman, Roger Mortimer, under Richard II. ; had subsequently condoned his exclusion in favour of Henry Bolingbroke, in attempting to dethrone whom a few years later he ruined his fortunes and lost his life. The two succeeding Earls fought and fell in the cause of the House of Lancaster ; while the fourth became a zealous Yorkist under the sovereign to whom he owed his restoration, next espoused the cause of the usurper Richard, and finally transferred his

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

allegiance to a competitor for the crown who possessed neither the hereditary rights of the one dynasty, nor the parliamentary title of the other.

On, or shortly after, the death and attainder of the third Earl, Henry, his only son, had taken refuge in Scotland; where he still remained when, in 1464, Edward IV. rewarded the services and gratified the vanity of John Nevill, Lord Montacute, by conferring upon him the forfeited Earldom of Northumberland.¹ The circumstances under which the young Percy subsequently fell into the hands of the English have not transpired. He was probably taken prisoner in one of the minor Lancastrian risings and committed to the Tower,² where we find him at the end of 1469; when the king, recognising, no doubt, the value of his adhesion in view of the defection of the Earl of Warwick, and other of his former supporters, determined to restore him to his patrimony. Edward already suspected, and not without reason, the loyalty of John Nevill,³ but was unwilling to give him offence by summarily depriving him of the Northumberland title, and therefore arranged that the northern people should draw up a petition for the restoration of the heir of the Percies.⁴ Before this

¹ "Kyng Edward returned to Yorke where, in despite of the Erle of Northumberlande, which then lurked in the realme of Scotland, he created Sir John Nevil Erle of Northumberland."—Hall's *Chronicle*. John Nevill was a grandson of Ralph, first earl of Westmoreland (whose daughter the second earl of Northumberland had married), and a brother of Warwick, the Kingmaker.

² He had been at one time confined in the Fleet, as appears from this entry in the public accounts: "To Sir Henry Percy, Knight, to provide for his table and four persons to attend upon him in the king's prison of the Flete during two months and four days, for each week, £1 6s. 8d. = £11 3s. 8d."—*Issue Rolls*, 5 Edward IV.

³ Although he had not yet actually joined his brother in open revolt, he was at this time in secret correspondence with him and the Duke of Clarence; of which fact King Edward was probably not in ignorance.

⁴ "Kyng Edward fered then the Lord Montacute, the Earl Warwikes brother, whom he had made Erle of Northumberland, and so privile

had been presented, he ordered the young prisoner to be conveyed from the Tower to Westminster, where, having in presence of the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other high officers of State, taken the oath of allegiance, he was pardoned and released from durance.¹

A.D. 1469

29 October.

In the ensuing parliament Henry Percy's petition for restoration to the Earldom of Northumberland (Lord Montacute having reluctantly surrendered that title in consideration of advancement to a marquise)² was duly passed for the King's approval; but although henceforth addressed by that title in his various public employments, his formal restoration was not effected until three years later.³ In 1470 he acted as one of the judges on the trial of the Duchess of Bedford, (former wife of Earl Rivers) for witchcraft.⁴ Shortly after he was appointed warden of the East Marches towards Scotland, but had not long been at his post when, Warwick having liberated and proclaimed Henry VI., King Edward fled into Flanders. There is no evidence to show that the cautious and politic Earl took any active part during the short interregnum that ensued. Had Queen Margaret then appeared upon the scene his fidelity to the House of York might have been put to a severe test; but he

2 March,
1470.

caused men of the country to desyre the ryghtful heyre, Percy, sunne to Henry that was slayne at Yorke Felde; and so Percy was restored, and made Montacute a marquis."—Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 500.

¹ For his curiously-worded oath of allegiance see Appendix. XLI.

² "This tyme Marquis Montacute had a VIM men yn Kyng Edward's name, and cumming near Kyng Edward told them how Edward had servyd hym, first making hym Erle of Northumbreland, and after gyving it to Percy, and after making hym Marquis Montacute gyving him a Pye's nest to maintain it withal. Wherefore he signified that he wolde take the Erle of Warwick, his brother's part."—Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 503. His patent of Marquis was dated March 25, 1470.

³ See Appendix XLII.

⁴ *Rot. Scot.* 10 Edward IV. m. 3. One of the imputed acts of sorcery was the having brought about a marriage between King Edward IV. and the Lady Elizabeth Grey; which "pretended marriage" Richard III. pronounced null and void on that ground.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

was a man of cold sympathies and of a calculating nature; he had moreover no reason to love Warwick, in whose hands Henry was notoriously a mere puppet. He accordingly appears to have maintained a neutral attitude, and to have awaited the turn of events in prudent inactivity.

14 March,
1471.

Even when Edward had returned to England, and appearing on the north coast¹ with only a few hundred men, gained some adherents by professing to have received letters of invitation and safe conduct from the Earl,² he made no sign either to encourage or to deprecate opposition to the King's advance.

Ten years before the Lancastrians had been able to raise large armies in the north; but this was due to the personal influence of the Queen and of the Percies, rather than to sympathy for the cause; for ever since the death of Richard II. these provinces had been the stronghold of legitimacy, and it now required but a word to rekindle the flame of civil war. By remaining neutral, Northumberland to a certain extent disarmed both factions, while Edward marched forward and entered the city of York amid the acclamations of the people.

A contemporary writer has shrewdly indicated the motives which at this juncture actuated the Earl, who, we are told "loved Kynge Edward trewly and perfectly;" yet, as his people had "in theyr freshe remembraunce

¹ The king landed at Ravenspur, where Henry of Lancaster had disembarked seventy years before, and, like him, with professions, subsequently confirmed by solemn oaths, that he came not to seek the crown, but only to recover his family estates. That day month he once more proclaimed himself King of England.

² "In the xlix. yere of King Henry VI. came King Edward, and wolde have landed in Essex; and after he landid, sore wether-beten, in Ravespurge, in Yorkshire: and as Edward passed the countrey he shewed the Erle of Northumbrelande's letters and seale that sent for hym." — *Ieland, Collect.*, vol. i. p. 503. There is no direct evidence that such letters were sent to Edward, but the Earl does not appear to have contradicted this assertion when it was put forward by the King's friends.

how that the kyngē at the first entrie-winning of his ryght to the Royme and Crowne of Englande had and won a great battaile in those same parties, where theyre maystar the Erles fathar, was slayn, . . . it was thought that they cowth nat have born very good wyll, and done theyr best service to, the kyngē, at this time, and in this qwarell." ¹ A.D. 1471

It is stated by the same authority that a great part of the populace in the north "loved the Kynge's person well ; but . . . the noble men and comons in those parties were towards th' Erle of Northumberlande, and would not stire with any lorde or nobleman other than with the sayde erle, or at least by his commandment." Edward himself appears to have reckoned more upon the toleration of those who had once been his declared enemies, than upon any great accession of active strength ; and considered that Northumberland had done him "a notabel goode service ; . . . for his sittynge still caused the Citie of York to do as they dyd, and no werse, and every man in all those northe partes to sit still also, and suffre the Kynge to passe as he dyd, natwithstandynge many were ryght evill disposed of theymselfe agaynes the Kynge, and in especiall in his qwarell." ²

Had the Kingmaker's impatient temper permitted him to await the arrival of Margaret, before giving battle to his adversary, the probability is that their united forces would have proved more than a match for Edward ; but on the Queen's landing at Dartmouth she was met by the tidings of Warwick's defeat and fall at Barnet on the previous day, and of the complete dispersion of his army. Never was the cause of the Lancastrians so hopeless as now. The enthusiastic reception she had met with in the west of England

13 April.

¹ "Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV. in Englande and the final recoverie of his kyngdome from Henry VI."—Camden Society, vol. i. pp. 6 and 7.

² *Ibid.*

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

4 May,
1471.

and in Wales, however, and the offers of armed support which she received from the most influential nobles in those parts, determined Margaret once more to try the fortune of war, which once more turned against her. The brave queen only survived the crushing defeat at Tewkesbury to mourn her murdered husband and son in a long and miserable captivity. Edward was now in undisputed possession of the crown, and after the easy suppression of several insignificant risings there was little temptation for the most zealous Lancastrian to oppose his authority.

* * *

Having been confirmed in the wardenship of the marches, where for the better performance of his duties he was required to take up his residence, the Earl of Northumberland continued to exercise the various functions which had generally devolved upon the head of his house;¹ but it was not until two years later that his restoration to the earldom was publicly recorded. In a parliament held on 6th October, 1473, "the King sitting in the Chair of State in the Painted Chamber, he (Henry Percy) was present, and by the King's commandment was restored in blood to the Earldom of Northumberland and to all such hereditaments of Henry Percy, late Earl of Northumberland, as came to the King's hands, and the attainder against the said Earl, of 1st Edward IV. *tit.* 17, is made void."²

In 1474 he bound himself by an indenture³ to render service to Richard, Duke of Gloster, "at all tymes lawful

¹ "My Lord of Northumberland hath indented with the king for the keeping out the Scottes and warring on them, and shall have large money. I cannot tell the sum for certain."—Wm. Paston to Sir John Paston, 7th March, 1473. Fenn's *Letters*.

² Collins.

³ For the text of this remarkable document, the original counterpart of which is preserved in the Muniment Room at Syon House, see Appendix XLIII.

and convenient when he thereunto by the said duc shall be lawfully requyred. The dutie of the alegauence of the said erle to the kynge's highnes, the quene, his service and promise to Prince Edward, their first begoten son, and all the king's issue begoten and to be begoten, first at all tymes receyved and hadd."

A.D. 1474

In the following year he accompanied the king to Calais on his ostentatiously prepared expedition against France, and was present at the ensuing pacific meeting between the two sovereigns at Pecquigni; when among other conditions of a treaty of peace, the release from the Tower of the unhappy Queen Margaret was stipulated. On his return to England he was elected a Companion of the Garter, in place of the Earl of Wiltshire;¹ and two years later figured among the knights who took part in a royal banquet at Windsor on St. George's day; when the queen and her ladies attended the chapter on horseback, wearing "gownes of the Order of the Garter," the colours and fashions of which are duly recorded by a court newsman of the day.²

29 August.

* * *

The first year of Edward's reign had been stained by an act of wanton cruelty on his part. He had caused a worthy citizen of London to be put to death for having indulged in a harmless jest.³ He now condemned his own brother the Duke of Clarence (whose more serious offences he had repeatedly condoned) to the same fate, for no greater crime than an expression of sympathy with his friend, Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire, who had been hanged for remarking upon the king's

¹ Anstis's *Register*, vol. i. p. 191.

² Stow's *Annals*, p. 429. See also Anstis's *Register*, vol. i. p. 197.

³ It may be remembered that the offence for which this poor tradesman suffered was his having jocularly remarked to a neighbour that his son would be *the heir to the crown*, in allusion to the sign of the crown over his shop.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

want of skill in the chase. The Earl of Northumberland took part in the trial¹ and concurred in the sentence of death passed upon the accused.² In 1488, he assisted the Duke of Gloucester in an attempt to recapture Berwick, and commanded the vanguard of the Duke's army when, two years later, the same attempt was repeated on a larger scale.³ Lord Bothwell, the Scottish governor of the border fortress, however, successfully held out against the besiegers; who finally, leaving a sufficient force under the walls, advanced into Scotland as far as Edinburgh; which at the solicitation of their ally, the Duke of Albany, they spared from pillage and destruction in consideration of a treaty being ratified under which Berwick was once more, and permanently, restored to England.⁴ In reward for his services in this expedition the Earl was formally thanked by parliament,⁵ and empowered to confer knighthood upon five of his own officers.⁶ Early in the following year, he was granted the office of Lord High Chamberlain, vacated by the attainder of John Vere, Earl of Oxford.⁷

When on the death of Edward in the flower of his

¹ The trial took place before the House of Peers.

² The execution took place on 18th February, 1478, but the story of Clarence having, at his own request, been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine rests, like many other popular traditions of this period, upon very questionable authority.

³ The Earl's force consisted of 6,700 men, and among those serving under his banner were Lord Scrope of Bolton (his brother-in-law), Sir John Middleton, Sir John Dichfield, and other knights of distinction.

⁴ The commissioners for England who signed the treaty were the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Stanley; and on the part of the Scotch, the Duke of Albany, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and Colin, Earl of Argyll.

⁵ "De eorum nobili gestu, actu et obsequiis factis et impensis prefato Domino Regi in defensionem regni in guerra Scotiæ."—*Rot. Parl.*, 22nd Edward IV.

⁶ These were Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir Christopher Ward, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Ralph Widrington and Sir Thomas Tempest, all of whom he created Knights Bannerets.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, 14 Edw. IV., vi. p. 144.

manhood his brother Richard succeeded to the regency, the Earl, already attached to him by the ties of military service, lent him an unbroken allegiance, and ultimately condoned, if he did not actively support, his usurpation of the throne.¹ It should be borne in mind that up to Edward's death the Duke of Gloucester had by his courage, sagacity, and strength of character, won the respect and confidence of the nation, and had given no indication of that unscrupulous ambition which was soon to plunge him into a course of crime and cruelty. The hideous tales of Richard's atrocities which history has adopted and romance exaggerated,² had not then darkened his reputation. To Northumberland, Buckingham, and other of the great English nobles, Shakespeare's hunch-backed villain was their late sovereign's favourite brother and most trusted counsellor, their own skilful commander and gallant companion in arms. His reputation for indomitable courage made him popular with the masses; and at a later time the very audacity of his crimes may have served to inspire awe where it failed to arouse resistance. And so Richard of Gloucester, having swept all difficulties from his path, was crowned in the presence of a noble assemblage of his lieges, conspicuous among whom was the Earl of Northumberland "bearing the pointless sword which signified mercy;" after which "the Lorde Stanley, lord steward, Syr William Hopton, treasurer,

¹ Among the earliest charters of Edward V. we find confirmation of the wardenship of the Marches and high offices in the north in favour of the Earl of Northumberland, who was also made Governor of Berwick. See grants under Edward V.—*Camden Society*.

² The attempt to vindicate unpopular historic characters is apt to be denounced as "whitewashing," no degree of which could leave Richard's reputation other than hateful. Still, there is no doubt that much has been laid to his charge for which history affords no warrant. Walpole's celebrated treatise in refutation of the aspersions which his enemies cast upon Richard has been but very partially answered.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

and Sir Thomas Percy,¹ comptroller, came in and served the kyng solemnly with one dishe of golde and another of silver."²

Shortly after Richard's accession, Northumberland addressed to him a petition for the complete restoration of all the lands that had belonged to his family at the time of the attainder of his great-grandfather, the first earl; the wording of this document is curious:

"Please it youre highness, of youre moost habundaunt grace, to have in youre tender consideracion, how that youre humble subject and true liegeman Henry Percy, now Erle of Northumberland, is, and all tymes hath ben, sith the tyme of your moost noble reigne, of humble, true and due obeissaunce to you, liege lorde, and to youre lawes, and ever shall be during his life, with the grace of God."³

After reciting the attainder by Henry IV. "*late in dede, but not of right*,"⁴ Kyng of England" he complained that subsequent acts had failed fully to revoke the effect of that attainder, and the forfeiture attaching to it; and he prays that complete restitution be made to him of all the first Earl had been possessed of, and that subsequent grants of such lands to other persons be declared null and void. The petition was fully complied with in the following year⁵

* * *

The crimes attributed to King Richard which since his accession had lost nothing by popular rumour, and, more even than these perhaps, his suspicious and arbitrary temper, had by this time alienated many of the powerful

¹ The relationship of this Percy to the head of his house is not known.

² Hall.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, 1st Richard III.

⁴ In the course of the succeeding reign these words are frequently used in official documents with reference to Henry VI.

⁵ By Letters Patent dated 5th May, 2nd Richard III. See Syon House MSS. D 1. No. 7.

THE EARL OF RICHMOND.

nobles from his cause and revived the hopes of the Lancastrians, who now once more put forward a candidate for the crown.¹ Remote and indirect as were his hereditary claims, the King's opponents showed no reluctance to acknowledge the pretensions of the Earl of Richmond,² who from the safe shelter of the French court deliberately prepared his plans for a descent upon England.

A.D. 1485

Richard appears to have under-estimated the impending danger, and it was not until his rival had actually landed in Wales that he proceeded to raise levies and to summon the principal nobles in his support.

Of the trustworthiness of some of these he had never been confident; but suspicious as he was by nature, and from the necessities of his position, he had hitherto had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Earl of Northumberland, who since he had ascended the throne had stood by him against all his enemies,³ had laboured strenuously and successfully to win over the King of Scotland to his cause,⁴ and whose friends and dependants continued to be among his most attached subjects and faithful supporters. How the estrangement between the two

¹ Hume states that with exception of the Duke of Norfolk scarcely any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to Richard's cause.

² He was the grandson of Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine of France, the widowed queen of Henry V. His father, Edmund Tudor, had been created Earl of Richmond and had married the daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, through whom he claimed descent from the royal House of Lancaster. The Nevills, the Percies, and other of the old English nobles, might have established a more legitimate and stronger claim to the crown by consanguinity.

³ He had indeed, and not unjustly, incurred some odium by his zeal in the King's service. He had presided at the form of trial held at Pomfret on the Earl Rivers and voted for his execution. He had also concurred in the sentence of death passed on the Duke of Buckingham, of whose forfeited estates he received a share.

⁴ The Earl had concluded a treaty of peace and amity with King Richard for three years from September, 1484, one of the conditions of which was a marriage between a Prince of Scotland and a daughter of the Royal House of England. See *Fodera*, xii. 236.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

commenced does not appear; and the Earl's attitude at the battle of Bosworth, where the chances of success at first seemed to be very largely in Richard's favour, has been variously interpreted by different writers. Some of these contend that the King, mistrustful of the Earl's good faith, and fearing lest he should pass over to the enemy, had posted him in the rear of his army with orders not to advance; others allege that Northumberland had brought his contingent into the field unwillingly, and only awaited the issue of the conflict to choose his side.¹ Whatever the truth may have been, it is certain that although the Earl struck no blow for Richard, he was treated as an enemy and a prisoner of war,² as soon as victory had been declared for

¹ Lingard attributes the Earl's inactivity to the fact that his men wavered and "were on the point of flying or going over to his competitors," but of this there is no proof; on the contrary, the natural sympathies of the northern men were entirely with Richard. The popular ballads of the time are much divided in opinion. One of them charges the Earl with having turned his arms against Richard at the most critical moment. In *Bosworth Fields* he is represented as having remained inactive: "there was Sir Henry Percy stern on steed:" while in *Lady Bessie* he is stated to have left the field during the fight:

"Rise up, Thomas, with the black gowne,
Shortly he break theray;
With thirty thousand fighting men
The Lord Percy went his way."

—*Ancient English Ballads*—British Museum.

² "Of captains and prisoners there was a greate nombre, for after the death of Kyng Rycharde was knowen and publyshed, every man in maner unarmynge hymselfe, and castynge away his abiliments of warre, mekely submitted themselves to the obeysaunce and rule of the Erle of Richmonde: of the which the more part had gladlye so done in the begynnynge if they might have conveniently escaped from Kyng Richard's espialls, which havyng as cleere eyes as a lynx, and as open ears as Midas ranged and searched in every quarter. Amongst these was Henrie the iv. Earl of Northumberlande, which, whether it was by the commandement of Kyng Richard puttynge diffidence in hym, or he did it for the love and favour which he bare unto the earle, stode still with a great companie and intermitted not in the battaille, which was incontinently received into favour and made of the Council."—Grafton's *Chronicle*. In Turpin's *Chronicle of Calais* (Camden Society), the Earl of Northumberland is included in the list of prisoners taken at

THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

Richmond. By his own people he was evidently not suspected of having failed in loyalty to Richard, as is proved by a letter addressed to him two days after the battle by the council of the city of York, who applied for his advice as to the necessity or expediency of their recognising the new King, now that : "King Richard, late lawfully reigning over us, was through grete treason of the Duke of Norfolk,¹ and many other that turned agaynst him, piteously slaine and murdered, to the grete heaviness of this citey . . . beseeching your good lordship to be to us, and to this citey, as you have been heretofore, ryght good and tendre lorde, and so to advertyse us at this tyme as may be to the honour of your lordship as well and proufitt of us and sauffegarde of this said citey."²

A.D. 1485

Two days later the humble submission of the citizens of York was received by King Henry, who having taken the great northern Earl into favour, now confirmed him in all the offices he had held under Richard and called him to his council. He was made Warden of the East and Middle Marches (with a special clause conferring authority and power equal to that held by the Warden in the reign of Richard II. and his immediate successors), Bailiff of Tyndall for life, and Commissioner of the Royal Mines in the North of England for twenty

Bosworth ; and J. de Giglia, an agent of the Pope, employed in England at this time, writes to his court shortly after the battle :—"Comes Northumbriæ qui captus et incarceratus fuerat, est liberatus sub cautione."—*Rerum Britannicorum Mediaevi Scriptores*.

¹ This name is evidently quoted in mistake for that of Lord Stanley, who, during the battle of Bosworth, passed over to the enemy in the midst of the fight ; the old Duke of Norfolk fell in defence of Richard.

² Drake's *Eboracum*, where we are told that had the Earl at this time "staied and raised forces," so strong was the feeling of the northerners in favour of the House of York that he might have "struck Henry's new acquired diadem in the Hazard:" but that "wanting that nobleman's personal appearance amongst them, our citey had nothing to do but, with the rest of the kingdom, to submit to the conqueror."

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

years; Justiciary of the King's Forest beyond Trent, Maister Forester of the Lordship of Knaresborough, and Constable of Newcastle, Dunstanborough and Bamburgh; of which latter castle his eldest son, then in his eleventh year, was appointed keeper.¹

On the King's first visit to the North the Earl met him at Barnsdale, in Yorkshire, with an ostentatious display of loyalty, at the head of a retinue of thirty-three knights and 300 horsemen.² He took a prominent part in suppressing the rising under Lord Lovell and the Staffords, and it was attributed to his vigilance that Henry narrowly escaped from falling into the hands of his enemies, by whom during his progress he had found himself surrounded.³

* * *

The exhaustion produced by thirty years of civil war, and the birth of a royal heir in whom the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster were united, might have been expected to put a stop to domestic dissension; but hardly had Lord Lovell's rising been put down, than the crown of England was once more challenged, and this time from a very unexpected quarter.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, 1 and 2 Henry VII.—Several other members of the family were at this time rewarded by the king; George Percy was granted certain lands in Northumberland "for good and true service," and made a commissioner for concluding peace, and a Lieutenant of the East and Middle Marches; and John Percy (possibly the disinherited son of Lord Egremont) was appointed an officer of the Great Wardrobe.—*Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*

² *Cotton MSS.*, Julius, B. 12.

³ "King Henry would certainly have been taken by them whilst he was devoutly solemnizing of St. George's day in that city (York), had not the Earl of Northumberland been more prudent in coming to the rescue."—Drake's *Eboracum*. Some of the Percy family appear to have taken part in this rising, for among those included in the act of attainder, after the suppression of Lord Lovell's rebellion, we find the name of Robert Percy of Knaresborough, who, at the Earl's intercession, was pardoned in the following year.

LAMBERT SIMNEL.

The credulity which springs from a love of the marvelous or the improbable, combined with an incapacity to appreciate the value of evidence and to distinguish between assertion and fact, has always been sufficiently prevalent to tempt ingenious and unscrupulous men to try their fortune by fraudulent personation. Trumington had for many years traded profitably upon his resemblance to the second Richard; and now, under the guidance of a designing priest, Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, appeared upon the scene in the character of the Earl of Warwick. By adroitness and audacity he succeeded in carrying conviction into the minds of a large number of people of all classes; who so zealously rallied to his banner that the movement, contemptible as its origin was, assumed a formidable character and compelled the King to put forth his whole strength to meet the agitation.

A.D. 1487

Even the production of the real Earl of Warwick failed to shake public confidence in the impostor, and the Earl of Northumberland ran counter to the feeling of the great majority of his countrymen in the North when he took a prominent part in the fiercely-contested action at Stoke,¹ which resulted in defeating one of the most impudent attempts to win a crown by fraudulent personation recorded in history.

13 Aug.

In acknowledgment of these services the King, shortly after the battle, conferred upon the Earl the custody of the lands of Sir Brien Stapleton, of Carleton, York, and the wardenship of Berwick.

In the following year he was one of the commissioners who concluded a treaty of peace with Portugal, and was appointed Bailiff of Boroughbridge, "with the tolls of

¹ A few days after the battle he contributed eight bucks and five marks in money to a banquet given by the Mayor and Corporation of York, as a peace-offering.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489
18 Dec.,
1488.

stallage and perquisites of the same for seven years.”¹ Some months later a long-pending litigation, on the subject of his claims as heir-general to Sir Guy de Brien, was brought to a close by a compromise under which “for greete divers and reasonable consideracions moving all the said parties,” the Earl of Ormond, Sir Edward Poynings and Sir Thomas Seymour were allowed to participate in the inheritance.

The following letter from the Earl to the brethren of St. Peter, York, belongs to this date :

“Right hartily beloved frendes, I comend me unto you. And whereas a seruant of myn hath shewed unto me that ye haue a tame deer w'in you, if it like you to geve him unto me to putt unto other that I have, I geve you now a buk ; and ye in y^e wyntre shell heve a doo ; and bisid yis yat I may do for ye well, ye therein will fynde me your good lord at all tymes, the whych knows God who preserve you. Written on my manor of Lekinfeld, ye xiii daie of July.

“Your loving, H. N^d.”²

The people of England were by this time beginning to show themselves very impatient of Henry's insatiable greed for money and love of hoarding, to gratify which he made continually increasing demands upon the national resources. Under pretext of waging a war with France, (which in itself was only intended as a means of inducing that country to purchase peace by a large money payment) the King had obtained from his subservient parliament a vote of 75,000*l.*, to be raised by a tenth on the yearly produce of lands and on the value of personal property. The tax created much discontent throughout the country ; but the disaffected population of Durham and

¹ *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*

² *State Papers Dom.* Henry VII.

AN OBNOXIOUS TAX.

A.D. 1489

Yorkshire angrily resented it, and appealed to the Earl of Northumberland to support them in their resistance to what they denounced as an unjust and extortionate demand. Sharing, as he probably did, their views, he did not hesitate to represent to the King that "the people greatly grudged and murmured, making open proclamation that they have been charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions without any default or desert, and that now there was a howze somme (huge sum) requyred of theym which neyther they were hable to satisfy, so grete a demaunde, nor yet woulde once consent to paye one penny of the saide somme requyred."¹

Henry had already given indication of that policy which he persistently pursued throughout his reign, and which his immediate successors adopted and improved upon, namely, the strengthening of the Royal at the sacrifice of the Baronial power.² The Earl's attitude, as an intercessor between the rights of the people and the throne, would in itself have offended him, even had it not involved a question of money. He accordingly returned a curt and peremptory answer requiring immediate compliance with his demand, and the exaction of the tax to the uttermost farthing, "whether they could pay it or not," more especially on the part of those who "whynd most at it, lest it myght appear that the

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*.

² A striking illustration of his jealousy of the great nobles is mentioned in Green's *Short History of the English People*, where we read that when Henry VII. went on a visit to the Earl of Oxford, and found two long lines of armed and liveried retainers drawn up in his honour, according to custom on the occasion of royal receptions, he said to his host, "Thank you for your good cheer, my lord, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." The cost of the royal visit was accordingly increased by 10,000*l.*, the amount of the fine imposed upon the Earl by the Star Chamber for a breach of the Statute of Liveries.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D.
1446-1489

decrees, actes, and statutes made and confirmed by hym and hys high courte of parliament, shoulde by hys rude and rusticall people be infringed, despised and vilipended."¹ The Earl was at the same time commanded to make inquest concerning all insurrections in the city of York, and to bring offenders to justice.²

The sullen temper of the Northerners who "bare agaynst the Earle continual grudge by the deth of Kynge Richard, whom they entirely loved and hyghlie favoured"³ required but little incitement to rouse it into open violence. The Earl had summoned a body of the malcontents, who had elected one John a'Chambre their leader and mouthpiece, to meet him at a lodge in his park at Topcliffe,⁴ when he delivered to them the King's decision in a tone, it is said, so imperious as to lead to the impression that he approved the measure. Chambre now represented to his angry followers that King Richard would never have allowed his people to be oppressed by so extortionate and iniquitous a tax, and that, but for the Earl of Northumberland having deserted him in the hour of danger, that sovereign would now be ruling over them instead of the upstart Henry.

The Earl had come to the meeting with but a small following, unprepared for violence; but when Chambre assailed him with opprobrious words, he called him a scurvy rogue, and bid the assembled people mistrust such evil counsellors, and return to their homes like peaceful and loyal subjects.

There is no authentic account of what ensued. Hall states that the mob, incited by Chambre, and "lay-inge to his doore that he was the chiefe author and

¹ Hall.

² *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*

³ Hall.

⁴ Cocklodge, or Cockledge, where a century and a half later, Charles the First was confined pending the negotiation with the Scotch for his surrender to the Parliament army.

principal causer of this tax and tribute, both hym and his householde servants furiously and shamefully murdered and kyllled." A.D. 1489

According to another version he was not killed at Cockledge, but dragged thence to Thirsk, a village at several miles' distance, and there beheaded under a great elm tree.¹

* * *

Skelton, the Poet Laureate, composed an elaborate elegy² in commemoration of his patron's death. He evidently suspects collusion between the earl's retainers and the "Commons," and charges the former with having culpably failed in their duty to fight in defence of their lord:³

"The ground of his quarel was for his souerain lord,
The well concerning of all the hole lande,
Demandyng suche duties as nedes most acord
To the ryght of his prince, which shold not be with-
stand:
For whose cause ye slew him with your owne hand:
But had his noble men done wel that day
Ye had not bene able to haue sayd hym nay.

"But ther was fals packing, or els I am begylde;
How be it the mater was euydent and playne,
For if they had occupied their spere and their shilde,
This noble man doutles had not bene slayne.

¹ *Old Yorkshire*, by William Smith.

² This composition, which will be found in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (vol. i. page 95), is among the best specimens of Skelton's style.

³ None of the historical records of this period corroborate the charge, nor is there any reason to believe that the Earl was attended by a number of "Barones, Knyghtes, and Squiers" on this occasion. Henry the Seventh was, however, so unpopular in the north, that the sympathies of the gentlemen of Northumberland and Yorkshire may very probably have been with the insurgents, rather than with the representative of the king, in the matter of the obnoxious tax.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D.
1446-1449

*But men say they wer lynked with a double chaine,
And held with the comones vnder a cloke,
Which kindeled the wild fyr that made al this smoke.*

.

- “ Barones, kynghtes, squiers, and all,
Together with seruantes of his family,
Turned their backis and let their master ful,
Of whos [life] they counted not a flye ;
Take vp whose wold, for thez, they let hym ly.
Alas ! his gold, his fee, his annual rent
Upon such a sorte was ille bestowed and spent.
- “ He was enuironed aboute on euery syde
With his enemyes, that wer stark mad and wode ;
Yet while he stode he gaue them woundés wyde,
Allas for ruth ! What thoughe his mynde wer goode,
His corage manly, yet ther he shed his blode.
Al left alone, alas ! he fought in vayne,
For cruelly among them ther he was slayne.

- “ Alas for pite ! that Percy thus was spylt,
The famous Erle of Northumberland ;
Of knyghtly prowes the sword, pomel and hylt,
The myghty lyon doutted by se and lande !
O dolorus chaunce of fortune’s froward hande !
What man, remembryng howe shamfully he was slaine,
From bitter weping himself can restrain ?
-

- “ Paregall to dukes, with kynges he might compare,
Surmountynge in honor al erlis he did excede,
To all countreis aboute hym reporte me I dare,
Like to Eneas benigne in worde and dede,
Valiant as Hector in euery marcial nede,
Prouydent, discrete, circumspect, and wyse,
Tyll the chaunce ran agayne him of fortunes duple dyse.”

A COSTLY FUNERAL.

King Henry showed his sympathy for the fate of the powerful subject who had been slain in his service by despatching the Earl of Surrey to the North at the head of a large army, with instructions to inflict the severest retaliation upon all concerned in the rising.¹ He also commanded that the earl's funeral should be conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence; a very inexpensive mark of the royal appreciation, since the cost was to be borne by the family.²

A.D. 1489
—

By his wife Maud, daughter and coheirress of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke,³ the fourth Earl of Northumberland had four sons and three daughters, the youngest of whom died in infancy. Of William the second son we shall hear more in the course of the next chapter. Alan, the third son, took priest's orders and became successively Vicar of Giggleswick in Yorkshire, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and

¹ According to Bacon, he was but "little troubled" at the earl's murder, but characteristically availed himself of the outrage to increase the tax imposed upon the county of York.

² For an account of this funeral see Appendix XLIV. The earl was buried in Beverley Minster, where, says Bacon, "he hath a stately monument, but much defaced." "This was removed in 1668 to make way for a cenotaph over the grave of Sir George Selby."—Drake's *Eboracum*. There was also a shrine erected in the earl's honour in the Church of St. Nicholas at Newcastle, with the inscription: "Orate pro animâ Henrici Percy IV Northumbriæ comitis qui per rebellium manus occubuit."—Chorographie, *Harl. Miscell.*

³ The following inscription is found on the west wall of a tower in Hulne Park, Alnwick:—"In the year of Crist Ihu. mcccc^{xxviii}. This Tow'r was bilded by Sir Henry Percy, the fourth Erle of Northumberland, of gret hon and worth, that espoused Maud ye good lady full of v'tew and bewt', daughter to Sir Wilm. Harbirt, right noble and hardy Erle of Pembrock, whose soulis God save and with his Grace co'sarve y^e bilder of this tower." Lord Herbert of Raglan who had been created Earl of Pembroke, was taken prisoner and beheaded by the Earl of Warwick in 1469, while attempting to subdue an insurrection in the north. His grand-daughter Elizabeth, in her own right Baroness Herbert, married Sir Charles, Somerset, who in 1st Henry VIII. was, *jure uxoris*, summoned to parliament as Baron Herbert, and who was the direct ancestor of the present Dukes of Beaufort.

HENRY PERCY, FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1446-1489

Warden of Holy Trinity College at Arundel in Sussex.¹

Of Jocelyn (or, as he is called, Gosslyne), the youngest son,² little is on record except that he served as cup-bearer to King Henry VIII. during his expedition to France in 1513, and that he married the daughter and co-heiress of Walter Frost of Featherstone, Yorkshire. He was the grandfather of the Thomas Percy notorious for his complicity in the gunpowder plot.

Among the public records we find an indenture between King Henry the Seventh and the executors of the fourth Earl of Northumberland, dated 14 December, 1490, under the terms of which : "His Majesty grants that Edward, Duke of Buckingham, shall by the grace of God wed and take to wife, Alianore eldest daughter of the said Erle of Northumberland by Xmas of next year. In the event of the Duke of Buckingham dying before this his marriage, then his next brother shall marry the said Alianore, the Pope's sanction being if necessary obtained ; but if the said Alianore should die before the marriage with either, then the Duke or his brother shall marry the next daughter, Anne, within twelve months of the said Alianore's death. In consideration of which the said executors shall allow the King the sum of 4,000*l.* out of the Erle's revenues."

The marriage took place within the period named :

¹ Under the will of the Countess of Richmond, dated in May, 1518, he became entitled to a legacy for the purchase of lands for St. John's College.

² The following clause relating to him occurs in the will of the fourth Earl of Northumberland, dated 1485 : "Also I will it my feoffes make astat of lande and tenements to the yearly value ccc mere to Gosslyne my son for term of his leve within the county of Sussex, whereof the manor and lordship of Poynings shall be parcell. to the entent that the said Gosslyne shall be of loving and lowly dispocion toward the said Henry his broder and give him next his allegiance. and that I charge him to do and to be, upon my blessing as he will answer before God."—Leland's *Collectanea*.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

and although the Lady Alianore Percy's inclinations had not been consulted, and the Duke's character was not such as promised unclouded domestic happiness, an alliance with the handsome, fascinating and magnificent Buckingham, could hardly have failed to prove gratifying to her vanity.¹

A.D. 1489

The second daughter, Anne,² married William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel.

¹ Within the second year of their marriage we find the duke complaining to his sister, the Lady Fitzwalter, of "the demeanour of my lady our wife," towards one of her waiting-women, a certain Margaret Gelding, whose name occurs with suspicious frequency in his grace's household books as the recipient of very considerable sums of money.—See *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, edited by J. S. Brewer; preface, vol. iii. cxi. When however the duke fell a victim to Wolsey's ambition and jealousy, his widow, Collins tells us, so severely felt the shock of his death that she only survived him a few years!

² In 1494 the Lady Anne Percy was one of the fair distributors of prizes to the victorious knights at a tournament held at Westminster on the occasion of Prince Henry being created a Knight of the Bath; (see Hall's *Chronicle*). Four years later (in June 1498) Sir Robert Lytton, the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, is directed to deliver to "our cousyn Lady Anne Percy a gown of murrey engroyned with an edge of black velvet and lined with bokeram; a gown of black cloth with an edge of crimson velvet and lined with bokeram. Item, a kirtel of black chamlet with as moche lynyng as shall suffice for the same. Item, a bonet of black velvet without a bordure. Item, a doublet of black saten lyned with black velvet. Item, a piece of tissues. Item, twelf ells lynen clothe for twoo body shals." She died in 1534.

FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF THE 4TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.



CHAPTER VIII.

Henry Algernon, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, K.G., Surnamed "The Magnificent."

Born, January 13, 1478.

Succeeded, April 28, 1489.

Died, May 19, 1527.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

Edward IV.

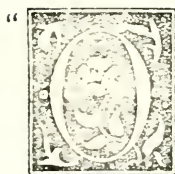
Edward V.

Richard III.

Henry VII.

Henry VIII., *acc.* 1509.

A.D.
1478-1527



“ yonge Lyon! but tender yet of age,
Grow and encrease; remember thyne
estate;
God thee assyst unto thyn heritage,
And geve thee grace to be more fortunate,
Again rebellyous arme to make debate:
And as the Lyon, which is of bestés Kynge,
Unto thy subjects be curteis and benynge.

* * * * *

“ I pray God sende thee prosperous lyfe and long,
Stable thy mynde constant to be and faste;
Ryght to mayntayne and to resyste all wronge,
All flattering faytors abhor, and from thee caste;
Of foul detraction God keepe thee from the blast.
Let double deling in thee have no place,
And be not lyght of credence in no case!”

¹ So called after his Norman ancestor, the founder of the English House of Percy. See *ante*, p. 12.

In these and many more such words of healthy exhortation, if indifferent verse, did the Laureate, having paid due tribute to the memory of the dead lord, turn to do homage to his successor.

A.D. 1495

The "yonge Lyon," who was in his twelfth year on his accession to the earldom, was, a few months later, on the occasion of Prince Arthur being made Prince of Wales, created a Knight of the Bath.¹ He appears to have passed much time during his boyhood at the English Court, probably, though this is not on record, as a royal page. He was in attendance upon the king at the negotiations and conclusion of peace with France in 1492, and played an important part in the ceremonial, attending the investiture of Prince Henry as Knight of the Bath two years later.²

The collapse and exposure of Simnel's imposture, and the humiliating penalty inflicted upon him,³ had not sufficed to deter another adventurer from becoming the claimant for the crown, nor other credulous or designing persons from espousing his cause. Among the darkest crimes attributed to Richard III. had been the murder in the Tower of his two nephews; but according to popular rumour the elder of these had succeeded in escaping from his prison, and one Perkin Warbeck now

¹ Nov. 29, 1489, and not, as stated by Collins, during his father's lifetime. His esquires in this ceremony were James Hide and John Parker, "whiche John employed the money otherwise, that he had receved from the Sectours (executors) for that cause, and not to his wourship."—See *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, by Sir Harris Nicolas.

² "There were the three gret Astates in their robbes, that is to saye the Earl of Suffolk, which bore a rustic sworde, the pommele upward; the Erle of Northumberland bore a rod of golde, and thErle of Darby the cape for astate furred with armyne."—*Letters of Richard III. and Henry VII.*

³ Henry had wisely withheld the honours of martyrdom from Lambert Simnel, and instead of consigning him to the Tower or the scaffold, the claimant for the crown was employed as a scullion in the royal kitchen.

HENRY PERCY, FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1478-1527

appeared upon the scene in the character of the young prince. The fraud was cleverly executed, and attended with great success. The King of France and the Duchess of Burgundy were among the first to receive the pretender with all the honour due to royalty in distress; the King of Scotland not only acknowledged him as Duke of York, but gave him for wife a lady nearly allied to himself, and of remarkable beauty. Some of the English nobles became sincerely converted to a belief in the justice of his claim; while others, from political motives or personal enmity to the king, affected to be so, and men as highly placed at the English Court as Sir William Stanley and Sir Robert Clifford, openly gave in their adhesion to the impostor.

So strong were the sympathies of the people of the north with the cause of the House of York, that Warbeck might well have been justified in reckoning upon the support of the young Earl of Northumberland, who, however, repudiated the pretender, and assisted in defeating his designs. Shortly after he had an opportunity of displaying his zeal in the king's service on a more congenial field of action. An insurrection had broken out in the West of England, which, spreading rapidly, assumed dangerous proportions. Lord Audley had placed himself at the head of the movement, and ultimately led a large but undisciplined army upon London.

May 22,
1497

The rebels were encountered by the royal forces at Blackheath; and in the desperate fight which ensued and resulted in their complete overthrow, the young earl, who commanded the "Northern Horse," earned his first military laurels.

Henceforth he remained in constant attendance at Court. When in 1500 the Archduke Peter met King Henry at Calais, the Earl of Northumberland served

in the royal retinue, wearing, says the chronicler, "a large rich gowne of clothe of gold and the goodliest plumashes of whit Austriche feders that ever I saw."¹ He was again in the suite of the king at the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in 1501,² and was a subscribing witness at the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Emperor Maximilian. He had been appointed General Warden of the Marches towards Scotland as soon as he attained his majority, and on assuming his hereditary position in the North showed indications of that love of splendour and pageantry, which later in life earned him the title of "The Magnificent."³

There are no records to fix the precise date of his marriage, which, however, cannot have taken place later than the beginning of the century. His wife, Catherine, was the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spenser, by Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a lady nearly related to King Henry VII.

In 1503 the Earl was charged with the duty of conducting the Princess Margaret⁴ to the Border, on the

¹ *Chronicles of Calais*, p. 50, where the banquet given on this occasion is described with much gusto:—"Ther were ordeyned vij horselodes of chery's; ther lakket noo creme, strawberys, nor sugar, bake venison, spicecakes, nor wafers. Ther were couched gret plentie of wyne and byer in houseyng therby for them that will drynke," and in addition to "the grettest nombre of yonge kiddes that ever I saw," there was "an Englishe fat ox powdred and lesed."

² *Harleian MSS.* 6725.

³ The young earl's splendid hospitality is recorded in contemporary chronicles, where among other such notices we find the details of a great banquet given by him to the governor and burgesses of Beverley, who in return presented him with "10 Capons, 4 Swans, 6 Heron-sewes, 2 Bitterns, and 4 Shollards," besides bestowing various fees upon the members of his household, including 1s. 10d. to Thomas Percy, clerk of the kitchen. See Poulson's *Beverlac*.

⁴ Eldest daughter of Henry VII., born in 1489, and married to the Scottish king in 1503. After his death at Flodden she became the wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus, whom she subsequently divorced to marry Henry Stuart, Lord Methven. Mary, Queen of Scots, and her husband Darnley were her grandchildren.

HENRY PERCY, FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D.

1478-1527

occasion of her marriage with King James of Scotland. The royal bride was accompanied as far as Colly-weston in Northamptonshire,¹ by her father, whence she was escorted by the Earl of Surrey until, on approaching York, she was met by the Earl of Northumberland. Her own retinue was a numerous and a brilliant one, "but above all other," says an old historian, "was the Erle of Northumberland; what for the ryches of hys cote, being goldsmyths worke garnysched with perle and stone, and what for the costly apparel of his henxmen and galaunt trappers of their horses, besydes four hundred tall men well horsed and apparrelled in his colours, that he was esteemed, both of the Scottes and the Englishmen, more lyke a prynce than a subject."²

Somerset Herald, who took part in, and wrote a full account of, the royal progress,³ says—

"Att two Mylle fro the sayd Cite (York) cam toward the sayd Quene my Lord the Earle of Northumberland, well horst opon a fayr Corser, with a Foot Cloth to the Grounde of Cramsyn Velvett, all borded of Orfavery; his Armes vary rich in many Places uppon his Saddle and Harnays, his Sterrops gylt, hymselfe arayd of a Gowne of the said Cramsyn. At the Opnyngs of the Slyves and the Coller, a grett Bordeur of Stones. His Boutts of Velvett blak, his Spours gylt, and in many Places he maid Gambads, plaisant for to see. Allwayes ny to him wer two Fotemen. Ther Jackets of that sam as before to hys Devyses.

"Before hym hee had 3 Hensmen rychly drest, and

¹ The seat of the king's mother, the Duchess of Richmond.

² Hall.

³ "*The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest Daughter of King Henry VII. to James, King of Scotland*," by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who attended the said Princess on her journey." Published in the later editions of Leland's *Collectanea*, from the original MS. in possession of John Anstis, Garter King-at-Arms.

mounted upon fayr Horsys, their short Jakets of Orfavery, and the Harnays of the sayd Horsys of the same. After them rode the Maister of his Horse, arayd of his Liveray of Velvyt, monted upon a gentyll Horse, and Campanes of Silver and gylt, and held in his Haund an other fayr Corser. Of all Thyngs hys Harnays apoyntted as before is sayd.

1507513

"Wyth hym in hys Company war many noble Knights; that is to weytt, Sir John Hastings, Sir John Penynnton, Sir Lancelot Thirlekeld, Sir Thomas Curwen, Sir John Normanville, Syre Robert of Aske, all Knyghts arayd of hys sayd Liveray of Velvet, with some Goldsmyth Marke, and grett Chaynes, and war well mounted. Some of ther Horse Harnes war full of Campanes, Sum of Gold and Silver, and the others of Sylver.

"Also ther was hys Officer of Armes, named Northumberland Harault,¹ arayd of his said Liveray of Velvet, berring hys Cotte, sens the mettyng tyll to hys Departyng, thorough all the Entryng and Yssue of good Townes and Citez.

"Also other Gentylnen in such wys arayd of hys said Liveray. Some in Velvet, others in Damaske and Chamlett, and others in Cloth, well monted, to the Nombre of Thre hundreth Horsys.

" . . . The next day, that was Sondag, the said Quene remained in the said Town of York, and at ten of the Clok that day she was conveyed to the Church with the Archbyshop, the Byshops of Durham, Morrey, and Norr wysche, the Prelates aforementioned and other honour-

¹ In Anthony Wood's "Account of the officers of arms belonging some time to the nobility of this realm" we read:—"The Earl of Northumberland had *Northumberland Herald*, he had also a herald called *Percy Herald*, that formerly under Richard II. had been *Walles (Wales) Herald*."—A. Wood's MSS. *Ashmole Museum*, No. 8,495, 4 Fol. 20.

HENRY PERCY, FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1478-1527

able Folks of the Churchē . . and other nobles, Knyghtes Squyres, and Gentylnen. . . .

" . . . The Erle of Northumberland was arayd of a varey ryche Gowne of Cloth of Gold. Hys Thre Gentylnen of Honor wer drest with longe Jakets full of Orfavery, very rychly wrought with hys Devyses, as wer likewys hys Folks.

"After the Processyon doon, begonne the Hygh Masse by the said Archbyschop, the wich was stalled, 'as the Custome is to do and they sange the Service of the said Masse, in the Chappelle of my said Lord of Northumberland, with much Solemnity. . . .

" . . . The Masse doon, the Quene was by the said Company precedente, in fayr Aray and Ordre, brought ageyn to the Pallays. And within the grett Chammer, was presented before hyr my Lady the Countesse of Northumberlaund, well accompanyd of many Knyghts and Gentylnen, Ladyes and Gentylwomen, the Quene kyssyng hyr in the Welcomynge."

On the arrival of the royal party at Newcastle, "at even the Erle of Northumberlande made to many Lordes Knyghtes and others a goodly baunket, which lasted to mydnyght, for cause of the games daunces sportes and songs; with force of Ypocras, sures and other metts of many delycouses maners. . . ."

Two miles from Alnwick, "the said Erle cam and met hyr, well accompanied, and brought hyr thorough his parcke where she killed a Buk with her Bow. The next day she was all the holl daye in the said castell and by the Lord well cheryste and hyr company."

It was probably on his return from this ceremonial expedition that the earl was created a Knight of the Garter.¹

¹ The lists of the order about this time are exceptionally defective, and Anstis, who dates the creation in 1504, would appear to be nearer

Among other means adopted for the more unrestrained exercise of arbitrary power, Henry had largely extended the jurisdiction of the law courts, which under subservient judges, and by the aid of their unscrupulous instruments, enabled the king at once to gratify his ambition and his avarice: to weaken the powerful, and to mulct the wealthy.

The Star Chamber, so called from the character of the painting on the ceiling, now became the lever for systematic extortion, from which no one was too exalted or too mean to escape. Who could resist the combined action of a rapacious king, a corrupt tribunal, and interested agents armed with irresponsible power, all equally bent upon selling justice or injustice to the highest bidder, and using the forms of law for the extortion of bribes?¹

the mark than the usually accurate Nicolas (*History of English Knighthood*), who states that the earl was invested as early as between 1494 and 1499. Had this been so his name would be found in the Wardrobe Accounts of that period, where it, however, occurs for the first time in 1504.

¹ "This court was the instrument by which the politic rapacity of the sovereign, and the subtilty of his favourite 'promoters of suits,' accomplished their nefarious purposes. If a man were descended from a stock that had favoured the White Rose; if he were suspected of entertaining a feeling of pity for the misfortunes of the Earl of Warwick; if his behaviour indicated a lofty spirit; or even if he were merely thought to be moderately rich; neither a dignified station in society, nor purity of life, nor cautiousness of conduct, could afford him any protection. Some statute which had long lain, 'like a rusty sword quite out of use,' but was yet called 'the law,' was put in force against him by the king's receivers of forfeitures."—"History of the Court of the Star Chamber," by John Bruce, F.S.A., *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. Hall says: "At this unreasonable and extorte doynge, noble men grudged, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Paules Crosse and other places, exclaimed, rebuked, and detested, but yet they would never amende."—*Chronicle*, 503. As if to claim the sanction of justice for their iniquities, the framers of the Act by which the powers of the court were enlarged, state in the preamble that the object in view was to put an end to the prevalent corruption, "taking of bribes by juries, unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs, and tokens."

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Among all the shameful records of that reign, there is perhaps none more scandalous than the list in which the sums paid to the king for the exercise of judicial favour, the perversion of justice, or the remission of penalties imposed upon crime, real or suspected, are set forth in their revolting nakedness. There is, it is true, a want of explanatory detail which makes it difficult to form an opinion as to the nature of the various transactions, but in some instances corroborative evidence has been found in contemporary records to throw light upon the subject, or to supply the missing links.

Among the numerous entries in this list¹ is the following:—

“2nd February, 1507. Paid by the Erle of Northumberland for the king's gracious favour to him shewed in the matter betwixt Sir John Hotham knight, and ye same Erle, 100 lib.”

On the face of it, this entry bears the appearance of a bribe paid to secure a favourable verdict in a pending action at law. An original document has, however, been discovered which exonerates the earl from this suspicion, and shows that the sum was paid not to corrupt, but to obtain that justice upon a murderer which no less a person than the Archbishop of York² had used his influence to have withheld. The truth appears to be that

¹ Published in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv., from *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 160, fol. 311. The names of most of the great nobles and wealthy citizens figure in this list. The system of extortion was, however, by no means confined to these, but applied generally to all classes except the very poorest. Sir William Capel, an alderman of London, was so repeatedly subjected to this financial rack, that he finally refused to submit to further extortion, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained till the accession of Henry VIII. The amount of the bribes quoted ranges from £50, and in some few cases even less, to £10,000. Sir John Fiennes—probably a very impecunious knight—was permitted to purchase his pardon for a murder of which he had been convicted for £25.

² Cardinal Bainbridge, Wolsey's predecessor in that see.

the friends of the criminal having paid £50 to purchase a free pardon, the earl paid £100 to secure a fair trial. A.D. 1507

The letter, written throughout in the earl's own hand, is addressed to Sir Reginald Bray, the king's architect, and a member of his council.

"Right entierly beloued ffrende. I comende me vnto you. So it is that as I haue shewed you heretofore that I had a suaunte of myñ callid Thomas Trauers pituously and shamefully Mourdered by Sir John Hothom and his suaunts, of the whiche suaunts oone of them is callid William Dixsoñ, whiche is indicted as a principall of the same mordour And also Appealle sewed against hym, as a principall, and vpoñ añ exigeat served ayeinst the said Dixsoñ, he was taken, and in the castell of Yorke, in the Shireffs keping. and nowe by espialle Labour made, there is comyñ to the Shireffs Sir William Conyers a Corpus cum causa retoñable in the King's Benche crastino Johannis, wherby the saide pryvye Labour it is entendid to acqyte hym by some craft and suteltie contrary to Justice and by estraungiers that knowe not the matier to bee there Impannelled of a Jure to acquite the saide William Dixsoñ, Wherfore I hartely beseche yov to helpe to the contrary thereof, and that the matier may be determyned by suche as knoweth the matier and be indifferent and not pcialle, and for the same entent I beseche you to be soo frendely vnto me as to writ a lettir to Sir William Conyers that he wolde deale indifferently, Notw^t.standing any Labour made to hym by my lorde Archebisshop or other, ffior as ferr as I pceyve my Lorde Archebisshop takethe a fast parte therein to helpe and favour the saide offendours, Notw^t.standing that it pleasyd my Souain Lord the King is grace, att myn Instaunce and desire to writt a lettir to my saide lorde Archebisshop that he shulde not medle in that matier and in especiait to their comfort and defence, the

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contrary wherof he doithe, for Sir he not oonly Labours therin, but also taken to his housholde suaunt the saide William Dixson oone of the principalls, Nevertheles I trust att lenght that the said Dixson and the other that be giltye of the saide mordour. shall nott eskafe the daunger of the Kings Lawes according to their demeritts. And our Lord have you in his blissed Keping. Writteñ att my Maner of Lekingfeld the xxjth daie of Juyñ.

“Your hawen

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

“To my Right entierly beloved Frende Sir Raynolde Bray Knyght.”¹

In the following year we find this entry :—

“25 Nov. 1508. For the pardon of the Earl of Northumberland £10,000.”

No clue is given as to the offence the forgiveness of which required so heavy a bribe; and since a murder might be expiated by the payment of £25, the natural inference would be that the earl had committed a crime of a very heinous character.

It is not until in the first year of the succeeding reign that light is thrown upon this transaction.

Shortly after his accession, Henry VIII., in a curiously worded document, claims to be entitled to the “special good service” of certain of his subjects, among whom he names the Earl of Northumberland, in consideration of the favour extended to them by his royal father, “in discharging and pardoning of many and sundrie weightie causes;” and in the following year we find these Entries :—

“10 March 1510. Cancelling Recognizance of £5,000

¹ From the Records in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, Press 6, Shelf 1, Parcel 9. The date of the year is not given.

made by Henry Earl of Northumberland to Henry VII. A.D. 1508
in 20 Nov. 23 Henry VII."

"21 March 1510. For the pardon and release of £10,000, recovered against the said Earl of Northumberland in the Common Pleas, for abduction of Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Hastynges, Knight, and for the loss of her custody and marriage."¹

The "abduction of an heiress" has an ugly sound; but the earl's actual offence proves to have been nothing worse than the giving in marriage of a lady over whom he claimed a right of wardship which the king disputed.² It is impossible to hazard an opinion as to the merits of this particular case; but, whether the earl was in his right or not in disposing of the lady's hand, once brought within the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, a conviction was a foregone conclusion, and submission to a fine the only alternative of prolonged imprisonment. The sums thus habitually extorted by the Empsons and Dudleys,³ under the king's authority, depended not upon the nature of the crime but upon the means of the condemned; yet even to the Earl of Northumberland such a sum,

¹ Pat. 1 Henry VIII. p. 2. m. 32. These documents are published in the first volume of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, edited under authority of the Master of the Rolls. The name of Hastings is of frequent occurrence in the shrievalty and justice rolls of Yorkshire and Northumberland, and in the lists of military array; but there is no record to establish the identity of this particular knight.

² It must be borne in mind that "livery and wardship" in those days formed an important source of public and individual revenue. The custody of minors was constantly solicited as a mark of royal favour, or the reward of good service; and the claims arising under such grants became the subject of frequent litigation. It will appear hereafter that Wolsey, wishing to mark his displeasure towards the Earl of Northumberland, committed him to prison on a similar charge of infringement of the royal right of livery.

³ In July, 1509, the Earl of Northumberland was one of the judges who tried and sentenced Dudley (father of the ill-fated Duke of Northumberland) for treasonable practices connected with the Star Chamber. He was executed, together with his accomplice Empson, on Tower Hill.—See *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. 1746.

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representing about five years of his annual revenues, must have been an intolerable burden, and one which he could not have discharged but by instalments. From the reference to the recognizance of £5,000 which Henry VIII. cancelled, it is evident that this was the balance of the fine remaining due at that time, and that the other moiety had actually found its way into the royal coffers.

* * *

The chief of the Percies had by this time gained a high reputation, not only for a taste for magnificence but for a love of letters and art very uncommon in the rude England of the fifteenth century. He had been the friend and patron of Lydgate and Skelton who, whatever their merits, were the foremost poets of their day; the beautiful shrine erected in Beverley Minster¹ in commemoration of his father had been designed and executed under his immediate eye; divines and professors, minstrels, makers of interludes and players, were among the salaried members of his household; and the studies and libraries of his castles excited the surprise and admiration of a learned writer and antiquary half a century after his death.²

It may be taken as a proof of advancing civilization that, side by side with the taste for luxury and ostentation which marked the period of Henry the Eighth's accession, there arose a greatly improved system of domes-

¹ No trace of this monument now remains; the only memorial of the Percies still extant is an altar-tomb, much defaced, and of which the canopy has disappeared. The original position had long since been changed.

² "One thing I liked exceedingly yn one of the Towers; that was a study caullid Paradise, where was a closet in the middle of eight squares latished aboute, and at the toppe of every square was a desk ledgid to set bookes on bookes, on Cofers wythyn them; and these seemid as joinid hard to the toppe of the closet. And yet by pulling one or all wolde cum downe, briste highte in rabettes, and serve for deskes to lay Bokes on."—Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. i. fol. 59.



THE PERCY SHRINE BEVERLEY MINSTER

tic economy. We now find the great nobles emulating statesmen and financial officers in the establishment of elaborate codes of regulation for the better management of their households, and the check and control of expenditure. The volume compiled from ancient records in the Percy family by the Bishop of Dromore,¹ affords not only an insight into the most minute details of the household of a great noble during the early part of the sixteenth century, but supplies a mass of most interesting and valuable information on the habits and manners of that age, as well as the current prices of articles of consumption.

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The Earl of Northumberland's establishment was formed on the model of the king's court, and the regulations are framed in the language employed in royal ordinances. The household is divided into various ranks and classes, to each of which a strictly limited scale of dignity, emolument, diet, and allowances is assigned, with all the minuteness of a modern Parliamentary Estimate and Appropriation Bill. The kitchen, the cellar, the bakery, the brewhouse, and the stable are under stringent regulations, and the duties and hours of attendance of each class of servants are defined with military precision.

The earl's immediate family consists of "my lorde and my lady, my Lord Percy and my Lady Margaret, and Maister Thomas and Ingleram Percy," to each of whom a specified number of attendants is assigned.

In the regulation of all matters of domestic economy, my lord is assisted by a council composed of the high officers of his household, the chamberlain, the controller,

¹ *The Northumberland Household Book* was compiled by authority of the first Duke of Northumberland in 1770, and printed for private circulation among his friends and literary institutions. A complete transcript of it was published in the fourth volume of the *Antiquarian Repertory*.

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the treasurer, and the secretary, clerks of the kitchen and of the signet, and a master of the horse. These belong to "the Knight's Table," and are each allowed from three to six servants to attend upon them.

The chapel is served by a dean (a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity) and ten priests, including an almoner (who is also a "maker of Interludes") "a master of grammar, a Gospeller and a Pistoller" (readers of the Gospels and Epistles), and "a riding chaplain for my Lord." There are also seventeen choristers, viz., "three Bases, four Tenors, four Counter-tenors, and six child Tribles."

On certain festivals the household minstrels, consisting of "a Tabarette, a Luyte, and a rabece," perform in the chapel.

The entire domestic establishment consists of one hundred and sixty-six persons,¹ and further provision is made for fifty-seven strangers every day in the year. The average annual cost of food and drink for each individual servant is estimated at £3 11s. 6d., which, if we compare the then prices of the necessities of life with those of the present day, is equivalent to nearly £30 of our money.² With meat costing less than a halfpenny, and bread less than a farthing a pound, this sum must have provided a very substantial daily supply of food, and left a considerable margin for drink, of which the

¹ These numbers do not include the superior officers, such as receivers, constables, auditors, and others, of whom a large staff was maintained for accountability and superintendence, the collection and distribution of revenues, and the performance of the various services connected with the management of landed estates.

² The reader is referred to the *Household Book* for numerous and interesting details of domestic economy, but a few of the prices of provisions may be here quoted to give an idea of the comparative value of money in those as compared with the present times: Wheat 5s. 8d. and Malt 4s. the quarter; Beeves, 13s.; Calves and sheep, 1s. 8d.; Capons, 2d.; Woodcocks, 1d. each; household bread, 1d. for six loaves; beer, 1½d. a gallon; wine (gascoyne or claret), £4 13s. 4d. the tun; salted salmon, 6d. the score, and other preserved fish in the same proportion.

DOMESTIC ESTABLISHMENT.

daily consumption amounted to nearly four gallons of wine and forty of beer.¹

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The keep of fifty-seven horses for the use of officers and servants in summer and winter, is computed at eleven shillings for each horse, the annual cost of coals and wood is £28, servants wages, including those of the superior officers, amount to £153, while the cost of washing for the house, the chapel, the ewery, the cellar, the pantry, the kitchen, and the wardrobe, is only £2 8s. for the year. No less than forty-seven different descriptions of wild fowl and poultry are enumerated, most of which were to be served only at my lord's or the knights' table, and some of these, such as swans, peacocks, cranes, bustards, and pheasants, were reserved for "principal feasts." These lists do not, however, cite many articles of diet which must have been in general use, and we may infer that butter, eggs, and vegetables were provided from the farms attached to the castle, while the parks and rivers supplied venison² and fresh fish.

The sum of £1100 voted annually for defraying household expenses, does not therefore represent the full cost of maintaining the domestic establishment, nor does it include the important supplementary vote for "forren expences." Among these are gratuities and

¹ Fragments of the Duke of Buckingham's *Household Book* of the same period have been preserved. These corroborate the current prices as quoted, but the duke's expenditure was on a larger scale, as might be expected, since he was then the wealthiest peer in England, his annual revenues from land being estimated at £6,000, whereas Northumberland's did not much exceed £2,000. There is a detailed account of an entertainment given by the duke on Twelfth Night to 519 guests, comprising 134 gentry, 188 yeomen, and 197 servants (*generosi, valetti, and garconi*), at an average cost of 6d. a head. The amount of food and drink consumed on this occasion is preposterous—but it was probably understood that the remains of the banquet on such occasions went to feed the poor.

² Between five and six thousand head of red and fallow deer were kept on the earl's northern estates.—See *Household Book*, p. 425.

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new year's gifts,¹ offerings to the Church, and eleemosynary grants. With reference to the latter we find that the earl, on successive Maundy Thursdays, distributed among the poor as many russet cloth gowns, linen shirts, cups of wine, and penny pieces, as he counted years, and this ceremony completed, he gave to the poorest man present, the gown of Violet cloth lined with sheepskin, which he wore on those occasions.² The *Household Book* does not cite the cost of clothing, and bearing in mind the pomp and ceremony observed, it may be concluded that this formed no inconsiderable item.³ As the earl's revenues from the lands did not exceed £2,300 a year,⁴ and his domestic expenditure

¹ These include payments to the king's juggler and the queen's bearward, who appear to have paid annual visits to the mansions of the great nobles; to the wandering players and minstrels, &c., and "to my lord's servants of the chapel, when they perform the mystery plays on Good Friday, Shrove Tuesday, and Easter Day."

² *Household Book*, p. 354.

³ The earl's wardrobe alone must have been very costly, for we find among his accounts a payment of £80 for eleven and a half yards of cloth of gold tissue for his own wear.

⁴ The value of money at the beginning of the sixteenth century was about one-eighth of its present value, which would make the earl's rental equivalent to less than £20,000 a year. By the middle of the century, however, there appears to have been a remarkable rise in the cost of the necessities of life and a corresponding fall in the value of money. In the course of one of his sermons in 1549—(quoted in the Preface to the *Household Book*)—Bishop Latimer stated that his yeoman father, upon a farm of £3 or £4 a year, employed six labourers, and had grazing for one hundred sheep and thirty milch cows. He sent his sons to school, and had a marriage portion of £5 to each of his daughters, "he kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some almes he gave to the poore, and all this he dyd of the sayd farm." Now, the bishop complains, the same farm is let for £16 a year, and the tenant is "unable to do anythyng for hys pryncce, for hymselfe, or for hys children, or give a cup of drinke to the poore." The taxes upon landed property were very heavy and the assessment appears to have been arbitrary. In a list, signed by Wolsey, of noblemen of and above the degree of baron, assessed for the subsidy granted by parliament in 14 & 15 Henry VIII., in four annual payments, the Earl of Northumberland's rental is estimated at £2,920, being nearly one third above his actual revenues from land. See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*

could not have been less than £1,500, a very small margin was left for other charges, and for the heavy cost of his attendances in Parliament,¹ and upon the king, not only at his court in London, but during foreign expeditions and domestic "progresses." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that on the frequent occasions when foreign missions or ceremonial duties were imposed upon him he was driven to resort to loans for the payment of his equipment and other expenses.²

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The mode of life indicated by the *Household Book* affords a curious picture of mingled simplicity and stateliness. If the earl himself assumed the dignity of a sovereign, his subjects were treated more like humble members of his family than dependants; and if he exacted deferential service, they enjoyed in return the full privilege of his powerful protection against wrong or injury. Indeed he was less their master by right of wages paid than their chieftain by right of birth and position; their relations being based upon reciprocal rights, and upon recognised, if unwritten, laws.

The ceremonial maintained forms a strong contrast with the absence of anything approaching to luxury or even, as we should now consider it, to comfort, in the arrangements of the mansion. Of the eighty rooms in Leckonfield, four sufficed for all purposes of daily family

¹ When in London he occupied a house in Aldgate—as we find from a letter written in September. 1526, by John Hastings at Paris, "to my lord's servant Burth, at my lord's place at Aldgate."—*Ibid.*

² Some papers have been preserved in the Record Office, in which the receipts and payments of the Earl of Northumberland for twelve successive years, from 1515 to 1527, are set forth in minute detail. From these we learn that his average income over that period was something under £3,400 a year, more than one third of which was derived from other sources than land, and in great part from loans contracted, in sums ranging from £20 to £800. Before joining the king on his expedition to meet Francis the First on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he was obliged to borrow £346. These documents will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*

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use, ceremonial or festivity, and the furniture of these consisted of little more than plain deal tables upon trestles, and wooden forms and benches.¹ There were forty-four bed-chambers in all, for the use of the family, guests, superior officers and upper servants; the others slept in huts, or sheds erected against the walls, in the court-yards of the castle.

The ceilings of some of the principal rooms were inscribed with stanzas and distichs mostly by Lydgate, in all no less than 622 lines, comprising a dialogue on the comparison between sensual and intellectual pleasures, a discussion on harmony, instructions to youth, moral sentiments, Aristotle's counsel to Alexander of Macedon, and jingling rhymes upon the family motto.²

In their habits of life the feudal nobles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear to have departed little from the practice of their Norman ancestors as set forth in an ancient triplet:—

“Lever a cinq, diner a neuf,
Souper a cinq, coucher a neuf,
Fait vivre dans nonante et neuf.”³

Mass was performed every morning at six o'clock, breakfast was served at seven, dinner at ten, and supper at four. At nine o'clock the castle gates were closed, and from the small consumption of candles (only 91 dozen in the whole year) we may infer that this was the signal for all hands to retire to rest. The composition of the meals at each table is clearly prescribed. My lord and my lady's breakfast consists of a loaf of bread, two manchetts, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, and half a chine of mutton or beef, or, on fast days and during Lent, two pieces of potted fish, six

¹ For an inventory of furniture at Leckonfield and Wressill in 1574, when, however, both places had fallen into bad repair, see *Household Book*, p. 462.

² See *Household Book*.

³ *Récréations Historiques*, British Museum.

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"baconned" herrings, and a dish of sprats in lieu of the meat. The breakfasts at the other tables were of the same character but did not include wine. Even "my Lady Margaret" is however provided with a bottle of beer at her morning meal in the nursery. Dinners and suppers are on a proportionate scale, which was evidently calculated to leave a sufficient surplus for the meals of the attendants on the lords, etc., who are described as "reversioners."

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At all these meals the strictest ceremonial is observed. My lord and my lady's board is attended by a chaplain, a pantler, two cup-bearers, a carver, a server, a gentleman waiter, a groom of the chambers and five yeomen ushers.

My Lord Percy has his own retinue; the two younger sons are waited upon by "three young gentlemen," besides a yeoman usher and a groom for each, and the Lady Margaret by "three gentlewomen and chamberers, two Rokkers and a child of the Nurcy."

At great banquets the higher officers of the household are required to act as cup-bearers, carvers and servers, and on state occasions the services of stewards, bailiffs, foresters, constables of the earl's different castles, and even lieutenants of fortresses, "unless they be knights," are employed in those capacities.

The earl keeps thirty-three horses in his private stable,¹ including six "gentyl horses," four palfreys for my lady, and three "naggis for my Lorde's owne saddil." When he rides out he is attended by the master of the horse, two grooms of the stable and two henchmen, and when on a journey carries thirty-six horsemen along with him.

It is worthy of remark that of the earl's several residences in the north only one is furnished,² so that

¹ Independently of those maintained for the use of his household.

² Wressill and Leckonfield were the earl's principal residences, but he also passed a part of every year at Topcliffe. Alnwick and Wark-

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when he shifted his quarters from one to another castle he had to carry with him beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils and those "hangings" which served to cover the bare walls and in the absence of glass in the windows (which was then still a rare luxury in English mansions), to keep out the cold.

The historian Hume¹ refers to the Northumberland *Household Book* as "one of the most singular monuments which antiquity affords us," but while admitting that "no baron's family was on a nobler or more splendid footing," he ridicules "the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar Chief who does not give any orders, if only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble: 'It seemeth good unto us and to our Council.'" He also contrasts the rudeness and barbarism of the mode of life among Englishmen of the highest rank with "the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived," and with the progress made by them in literature and art.

It is not to be denied that the Italians were then in point of culture immeasurably in advance of the English. A nation, or rather a nationality, which had produced Petrarch, Dante, and Ariosto, Correggio and Michael Angelo, might well look with disdain upon a people among whom Lydgate and Skelton represented literature, and professors of painting were maintained among other household servants at groom's wages,² and

worth Castles appear at this time, and, indeed, down to a much later period, to have been military strongholds rather than family seats, though they were occasionally used for ceremonial receptions and state visits.

¹ *History of England*, vol. ii. Appendix, note z, p. 579.

² From the royal household accounts of this period we find that while Henry the Eighth's chief carver had an income of £50 a year, "the king's painter" received but two pence a day. Strange to say the chief surgeon received little more than half the salary of the carver.

employed alternately in taking the portraits of the family and in colouring the walls of the house.

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Equally far behind Italy was England in the refinements of domestic appointments. While trans-alpine banqueting tables were adorned with the delicate fabrics of Venetian glass, and sparkled with golden and silver dishes and vases wrought by the hand of Cellini, our nobles ate¹ their coarsely cooked food off wooden trenchers and pewter vessels, and drank their wines from cups of horn or, at best, from silver goblets² of rude design and unwieldy dimensions.

The Medicis and Loredanos would doubtless have found little enough to gratify their refined and artistic tastes at the court of our Henry; would have been offended by the coarse abundance and rude hospitality of our great nobles, and perhaps yet more shocked by the vulgar ostentation and barbaric gorgeousness of the

¹ Even in their mode of eating (see the account given by Erasmus), the English, who now in this respect set an admirable example to the rest of the world, were then much behind the Italians, among whom forks were in general use nearly a century before they were introduced into this country. A writer, in the reign of James I., says: "The Italians, and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy doe alwayes at their meals use a little forke when they cut their meat. . . . This form of feeding, I understand, is generally used in all places of Italy, their forkes being for the most part made of iron, steel, and some of silver, but those are used only by gentlemen. The reason of this, their curiosity, is, because the Italian cannot by any means indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing that all men's fingers are not alike clean."—*Coryat's Crudities*, p. 90.

² From the omission of the mention of silver plate in the *Household Book*, Hume infers that such was not then in use in the mansions of our great nobles—but this is a mistake, for silver table vessels form no unimportant item in the Earl of Northumberland's camp equipage in France, and, at the time of his death, as will appear hereafter, he was in possession of plate to the value of many hundred pounds, though, probably, a great part of this was for use in the chapel. The fashion of silver work must have been rude, however, for the skilled Flemish goldsmiths had not then begun to practise their art in England; and Cellini, though he had visited and been honourably received at the French court, had not been tempted to convey himself or his artistic handiwork across the Channel.

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only English palace which had any pretensions to vie with their own in magnificence; that "poor house at Westminster" whence in affected humility Wolsey addressed his servile letters to the king, and which he had filled to overflowing with all rare and costly objects that wealth, without taste or discrimination, could procure.¹

The term "Tartar Chief," however, is singularly inappropriate in its application to an English nobleman who in a rude and illiterate age² gave evidence of exceptional intellectual culture, encouraged art,³ devoted much time and money to the advancement of learning, and, among other works for the promotion of education, had founded two preceptorships of philosophy and grammar in the monastery of Alnwick.⁴

Warton⁵ says that "the Earl of Northumberland loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as the age produced;

¹ In his later years, Wolsey employed agents in Italy and Flanders to purchase works of art, and we read of the ceilings of his palace being "craftily entaylled with images embossed," and his coffers filled with splendid gold and silver plate; yet the inventory of York House, at the time of his disgrace, is more remarkable as a proof of his lavish expenditure than as an indication of artistic taste.

² "Of the three greatest noblemen of the time," says Mr. Brewer, "the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquis of Dorset, it would be difficult to say which was the most illiterate."—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. i., preface. If we compare the correspondence of the Earl of Northumberland with that of his brother peers, eccentric as his orthography often is, his superior culture becomes at once apparent. Here is a specimen of Suffolk's composition, taken at random from one of his letters: "I schowed hes grace that I was lyke to by ordon (be undone) if the mater schold counse to the knollag off the kyng."

³ There may be seen in the British Museum (MSS. Reg. 18 D. 11) a splendid MS., engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, containing a collection of English poetry, principally by Lydgate and Skelton, prepared by the earl's orders. The metrical history of the Percy family was also composed under his immediate superintendence, by one of his chaplains.

⁴ Syon House MSS., C. III. 5 & 6.

⁵ *History of English Poetry.*

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

... with so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting, and who despised learning as an ignoble and petty accomplishment fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics." A.D. 1509

Indeed the earl's love of letters seems more than once to have offended the warlike northerners who could not reconcile such tastes with the martial character attaching to his name and position, and who probably thought the encouragement of art and learning or the advancement of education occupations beneath the dignity of a Percy.

His actual services in the field, however, were sufficiently conspicuous to exempt him from the suspicion of having degenerated from the traditional military virtues of his race.

* * *

Few young monarchs have ever ascended the steps of a throne under happier auspices than Henry VIII. The reputation he enjoyed for liberality and munificence, for high spirit and kind-heartedness, was all the more valued by contrast with his father's secretive nature and parsimonious habits; whilst his personal advantages, his various accomplishments and his proficiency in field sports and martial exercises¹ made him the idol of a people ever ready to appreciate, and even to exaggerate, the good qualities of their sovereigns.

The magnificence and splendour which Buckingham and his brother in law Northumberland already affected in their persons and retinues, now became the fashion at

¹ Gustiniani, the Venetian ambassador in London, writes to his court: "The king is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine joustier, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious; hears three masses a day when he hunts, and five on other days."—*State Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. i., preface xxvii.

HENRY PERCY, FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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court; and the ill-gotten wealth amassed by Henry VII. at the cost of his popularity and reputation, was squandered by his son in extravagant pageantry and gorgeous apparel. The inventive faculties of courtiers were taxed to devise new means of lavishing money upon shows and revelries; and Wolsey, who never failed to study the king's humours and foibles, encouraged him in tastes which he himself shared, and in the gratification of which he set so conspicuous an example that, in time, the wealthier and most powerful of the nobles ceased their attempts to vie, in extravagance of outlay and splendour of ostentation, with the low-born priest.

So few events of national importance marked the opening years of Henry's reign, that the chronicles of the period are filled with elaborate descriptions of the banquets and revels, the tournaments and pageants, which occupied the days and nights of the pleasure-loving court; but before long the young king's adventurous spirit wearied of frivolous dissipation and mock combats, and his almoner readily gratified his ambitious yearnings for a field of action in which his own genius would find a wider and nobler scope than within the narrow sphere of the English court.

It had been the policy of Henry VII. to strengthen and consolidate the royal power at home; his son now aspired to make it respected and feared abroad.

In the beginning of 1513 the Earl of Northumberland received this summons:

* These revelries seem frequently to have degenerated into mere horseplay, in which the public were allowed to take part. During Henry's marriage festivities, the court was required to appear in costly garments, richly embroidered in, or studded with, golden letters; suddenly "the rude people rann to the pageant and rent and spoyled the guests," and the king, instead of resenting the intrusion, "in token of liberalitie," allowed them to seize upon the golden letters, and drag them off the dresses. One man among the mob is said to have sold his share of plunder on this occasion for £300.—*State Papers, Dom. Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1513

"Whereas wee, according to our dutie to God and to his Chyrche, and at the instant requests and desyres of the Poopees holiness and other Christian Princes, have for the defence of the said Chyrche, being by our enemy the King of France oppressed, and the extinction of detestable scism, raised by certain powers cardinals and mayntayned by the same, entered actual warre agaynst him :

"We signifie unto you that for our better assistance in that behalfe we have appoynted you amongs others to passe over with us in our journey and voyage with the number of five hundred able men for the warres to be by you provided, whereof a hundred to be demy lances, well and sufficiently horsed and harneysed, and ccc archers, and a hundred bills on fote."¹

The earl's taste for magnificence and display which had hitherto found vent in ceremonial or domestic hospitality, was now to be extended to the stern requirements of war; and a document² has been preserved which describes in fullest detail his personal equipment, and the retinue with which he embarked for Calais in the spring of 1513.

The force which the earl carried to France was composed of 380 of his immediate tenants from Leckonfield, Nafferton, Semer, Hundemanby, Wressill, Catton, Pocklington and Craven, besides 143 men brought to serve under his banners by Sir John Hotham of Scarborough, Sir Ralfe Salvyn of Newbiggin, William Thwaytes of Londe of the Wolde, and Stephen Hamilton of Gigleswyke. He is described in the rolls of the army as grand

¹ *Additional MSS.*, British Museum, 5758, F. 165.

² This curious document is a compilation by the different officers of the earl's household, each of whom furnished his own "remembrances" of the objects appertaining to his office requisite for the equipment of the expedition. It was transcribed in 1620 from the original MS. in the College of Arms (L 8, fol. 54) by one Roger Dodsworth, and by him presented to the tenth Earl of Northumberland. It is cited *in extenso* in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv.

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Captain of his own Retinue,¹ and had for his "Chefe Captaynes" knights and gentlemen bearing well-known northern names, such as Sir John Normandville, Roger Lascelles, John Heron,² Cuthbert Musgrave, George and Thomas Swynbourne,³ Thomas Eryngton⁴ and William Middleton. The earl's retinue consisted of forty-five attendants, including a treasurer of war, a herald, a pursuivant, and a chamberlain, with yeomen of the tent, wardrobe and kitchen. He embarked for his own use, or that of his esquires, &c., twenty-three riding horses, besides several more "to give to the Lord of Burgundy or the Duke of Bretonne," and twenty sumpter horses for transport of his baggage. Seven of these were employed for the carriage of his plate, harness, bedstuff, apparel, wine, and kitchen utensils; each chief captain was allowed one, and the remaining number were used for drawing the chariots and carts in which the provisions, tents, and "all manner of stuff" of 500 men were conveyed.

¹ Among the Exchequer Rolls in the Record Office, there is a receipted order, dated May 21, 1513, upon the treasurer of the army for £439 9s. 8d., being "wages of the Earl of Northumberland, Grand Captain of his own retinue, for one month."

² The sixth earle, in May, 1529, appointed "John Hearn or Heron, one of the gentlemen ushers of my chambers, to be bow-bearer in the Lordship of Alnwick, at two pence a day."

³ The Earl had appointed George Swynbourne constable of Alnwick, and by an indenture dated 21st June, 1511, had granted him a lease for twenty years of Snipe House and Hessely House, as also of Swinley Close and Hare Crag, Northumberland, at £46 8s. a year. Thomas Swynbourne was the Earl's Receiver for Northumberland, and in 1521 was appointed "Maister Forester" of Alnwick Park, with an annual fee of £10, in consideration of his "true and thankfulle service."—See Sir Edward Swinburne's MSS., No. 8 and No. 2.

⁴ This is probably the same person, whom, fourteen years later, the Earl of Northumberland rewarded by the following grant: "June 19, 1527, to his servant, Thomas Eryngton, constable of Langley, a farmholde in Tyndale called Howden of £4 a year rent, free of rent for life for his diligence, and pains taken, for killing William Aberleton of Hillington, an outlaw and a rebel," with a further allowance a few days later of "five marks a year for life."

LUXURIOUS EQUIPMENT.

The list of the earl's clothing occupies several closely written pages, and comprises doublets and riding coats of velvet and satin embroidered in gold and silver ; no less than twenty pairs of hose, twenty-five pairs of boots, shoes and slippers, and twenty-one pairs of garters. He carried with him fourteen hats and bonnets of different colours, a nightgown lined with fur, and sixteen scarlet night bonnets, besides thirty-five yards of "purple cloth of gold and tinsel uncut." His armour consists of several suits of "milan cotes of mail sett round with gilte nailes." His principal coursers have black leather saddles covered with black velvet and trimmed with silk, and his led horses red leather saddles. There was also "harness for nine coursers, and a change for every day, and another for meating of prynces which be the kynge's friends, yet one richer than another." Portable camp furniture was already invented, for we find among his effects "a coffre with two lyddes to serve for an altar," and four folding tables and chairs. Sixty ostrich feathers were among his personal baggage, for use of the captains and gentlemen of his retinue, as well as clothing for his pursuivant and herald, eight yards of green damask cloth for "a cote for *Esperaunce*," and eleven yards of red cloth for gowns for his three chaplains. The footmen were provided with "long arrows like standards to bere in their handes when they ryn with my lorde." The plate chest included "two silver saltes and twelve silver spoons, a washing basin, four candlesticks, and a standing cup for my lord's comfits and condiments." There were also two tablecloths and twelve napkins of linen.

The commanders of this army appear to have paid as much attention to the clothing of their troops as to their personal equipment.

"The lordes and gentilmen so well armed and so richly

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apparreled in clothes of gold, and of silver, and velvetts of sundry colours pounsed and embrodered, and all petie capitaines in satin and damaske of white and green, and yomen in cloth of the same colours."¹

The expeditionary army consisted of three divisions, in one of which, the middle-ward under the Lord Chamberlain (Herbert, afterwards Earl of Worcester), Northumberland held a chief command together with the Earls of Wiltshire and Kent; each of whom brought between five and six hundred men into the field. The contingents of other barons and knights ranged from fifty to two and three hundred men. The ordnance and siege train with the middle-ward, was composed of twelve brass pieces and 900 men,² and on his arrival at Calais 1,500 Germans, horse and foot, belonging to the army of the Emperor Maximilian,³ were attached to Lord Herbert's division.

The earl embarked for Calais⁴ early in June and at once advanced upon Terouenne, the capture of which stronghold stood first upon the programme of the campaign. The king with the main body of the army reached Calais at the end of the month.

John Taylor, clerk of the parliament, who appears to have been employed as military historiographer throughout the war, thus describes Henry's arrival:

"On the 30th June saw from the walls of Callis the

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*. In some instances, efficiency appears to have been sacrificed to either frippery or economy; for we are told that the five hundred Germans under Guyot de Guy, were dressed all in white, "which was cutte so small that it could scarce holde together."

² A very large number for working only twelve guns, but the siege train appears to have included engineers and artificers of all kinds.

³ It will be remembered that in this campaign the Emperor of Germany served as a volunteer (with the pay, however, of one hundred crowns a day), under the English king.

⁴ "The noble Earl of Northumberland, with others full many, they wende at their wyll, and wrought as they liked; thus they glenten at Callice."—*Ancient English Ballads*.

THE SIEGE OF TEROUENNE.

king coming with his fleete such as Neptune never saw before, and saluted with such firing of guns from the shippes and the towers, you could have thought the world was coming to an end. . . . Northumberland and Darcy have set out for Terrouenne." ^{A.D. 1513}

After a merry fortnight passed in continual revelry and jousting, the king joined his forces under the walls of the beleaguered fortress, the garrison of which held out with great obstinacy, in confident expectation of the siege being raised by the large army advancing to their relief, and which was composed of the flower of French chivalry under their most distinguished commanders. Their reliance was misplaced, for when, after a few unimportant skirmishes, the two armies met, the French horse, seized with an unaccountable panic broke and fled. Our earl who commanded the "Skowrers and Forriders," described as "Northumberland men on light geldings," took a prominent part in the pursuit, which ended in a complete rout, the dispersion of the relieving army and the capture of a large number of prisoners, including many officers of high rank. ^{August 12, 1513.}

Deprived of all hope of succour Terouenne surrendered, and was razed to the ground, when the English army advanced to Tournay,³ with the fall of which towards the end of September Henry's first and short, but victorious, campaign came virtually to an end. ^{August 22.}

¹ Journal of John Taylor. *Cotton MSS.* Cleop. cv. 64.

² It was the French themselves, and not, as might be supposed, their victorious adversary, who, in allusion to the free use which the horsemen had made of their armed heels during their retreat, gave to this action the name by which it became popularly known, the Battle of the Spurs.

³ Among Henry's proclamations (general orders as we should now call them) to the army, there was a ballad for the troops to sing under the walls of Tournay, the refrain of which was :—

"Que ne vous rendrez
Pouvres Thournevys !"

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The English army was still lying before Tournay when it was gladdened by tidings of the brilliant victory achieved over the Scots at Flodden.

The marriage between the royal houses of England and Scotland had not been productive of that harmony between the two countries which had been anticipated. Various grievances arose from time to time on both sides of the Tweed, and the declaration of war with France by Henry determined the Scottish king to seek redress by renewing his alliance with that country. No sooner was the English army of expedition landed at Calais than James collected a powerful force and entered Northumberland, slaying and burning after the ancient manner of those invasions, and capturing Norham and other of the border fortresses.

The Earl of Surrey, Lord High Admiral of England, then at Pontefract Castle, at once summoned the nobles and gentlemen of the north to join the royal standard, and hastily marched upon Alnwick, whence he sent Rouge Croix to the Scottish king to announce his intention of repressing the invasion and offering battle on the following Friday.

Much against the advice of his most experienced generals James accepted the challenge,¹ expressing himself "right joyous" at the earl's coming; but taking the precaution of moving his army to a commanding position in the Cheviot Hills. As this movement disconcerted Surrey's plans he sent a second herald to the king requesting him to descend from his vantage ground into the plains of Mill field, where he should be

¹ There are few documents extant which better serve to illustrate the temper and habits of that age than Surrey's challenge to the Scottish king. It is dated from Wollerhaugh, near Alnwick, on September 7, 1513, and bears the signatures of the Lord Admiral and his chief commanders. It is quoted in full by contemporary and later historians, and the original is preserved in the *Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. 1, 79.

FLODDEN FIELD.

ready to meet and give him battle "between twelve and three o'clock in the afternoon upon sufficient warning had in the morning between eight and nine o'clock;" but even King James's chivalrous compliance did not go so far as to induce him to comply with this unreasonable demand, and he returned for answer that he should await the coming of the English according to their promise.

A.D. 1513
—

The lord admiral was thus placed in a serious dilemma; he had passed his word to fight, yet to make an uphill charge upon an army three times as numerous as his own¹ was to invite certain defeat. A *ruse* on the part of Sir Edward Howard had the effect however of drawing the Scotch from their intrenchments into the plain, and after a desperate struggle of little more than an hour's duration, the invaders were overthrown and completely routed with the loss of their brave king and 10,000 men.

9th
September.

Sir William Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's younger brother, who had been one of the signatories of the challenge to James, and who conjointly with Sir Marmaduke Constable commanded the left² wing of Surrey's army, greatly distinguished himself in this battle.

"When the field was doone, and that the skouts brought worde that there was no more appearance of the Scots, but that they were all auoyded and gone, the earl gave thanks to God, and called to him certain lords and

¹ The Scottish force at Flodden was estimated at 100,000 men, but this must have included a large proportion of those camp-followers who, in the hope of plunder, followed in the track of the armies when engaged in border raids. Surrey's army was computed at under 30,000 men.

² Not the *right* wing as the poet sings:—

"The right wing, as I ween, was my Lord Lumley,
A captayne 'full keen' with St. Cuthbert banner;
My Lord Clifford with him came all in clere armour,
So did Sir William Percy that proved was of deeds."

The ancient ballad of *Scottish Field*.

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gentlemen, and them made knights; as Sir Edward Howard his sonne, the Lord Scroope, Sir William Persie, Sir Edward Gorge and divers others."¹

The honour thus conferred upon his principal commanders by Surrey was not simple knighthood, which these had long since enjoyed, but the more coveted distinction of banneret knighthood—the reward on the actual field of battle of those who had most contributed to victory, and who thus attained the right, otherwise restricted to royalty and the great nobles, of having their personal banner borne before them on going into action.

* * *

The triumphant success of Henry's first French campaign had been in a great measure due to the sagacity and foresight of Wolsey, and had not unnaturally tended to strengthen his growing ascendancy in the council chamber. Although his nominal office with the expeditionary force had only been that of grand almoner, he had also been intrusted with the direction of the administrative and financial duties of the war, and had taken a large share in the purely military arrangements of the campaign.² The king could hardly fail to appreciate the value of a servant who not only gratified his personal tastes but his public ambition, and who, while conscientiously administering the national resources, relieved him from all that was most irksome and laborious in the burdens of government.

¹ Holinshead. Ridpath says: "The English general caused solemn thanks to be offered to Heaven for the victory, and created on the field thirty-five knights."—*Border Wars*.

² Full justice has never been done to Wolsey's military genius. The *State Papers* show not only his natural capacity for strategy and organisation, but his possession to an extraordinary degree of that faculty of grasping at one and the same time the most intricate problems in the art of war and the most trivial details of the interior economy of an army, which has invariably been a characteristic of the highest order of military genius.

Wolsey had never disdained to employ the arts of flattery and servility while yet these served to pave his way to power; but no sooner did he find himself firmly established in the royal favour, than he began to show that determination to humble the pride and to undermine the influence of the great nobles which ended only with his life, and from the effects of which the objects of his jealousy never recovered. He had not yet assumed the *Ego et Rex meus* attitude which subsequently became habitual to him; for the Staffords, the Howards, the Percies, and other of the ancient nobles were still a power in the state, and had not begun to admit those pretensions, or show themselves disposed without a struggle to allow him to usurp that share in the government and that place by the side of the throne, which they, for many generations past, had claimed as their birthright.*

None amongst them showed himself more resolved to resent the encroachments of this *carnificis filius*, as he contemptuously designated the ambitious Churchman, than magnificent Northumberland's yet more magnificent brother-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham.

"There goes a tale that the duke once holding the

* A modern historian, in describing the result of the policy inaugurated by Henry VII. and pursued under his successor, says: "We enter upon an epoch of constitutional retrogression . . . Parliamentary life is almost suspended, or is turned into a farce by the overpowering influence of the crown. . . . Arbitrary taxation reappears in benevolences and forced loans. Personal liberty is almost extinguished by a formidable spy system, and by the constant practice of arbitrary imprisonment. Justice is degraded by the prodigal use of bills of attainder. . . . If we seek a reason for so sudden and complete a revolution, we find it in the disappearance of feudalism—in other words, in that organisation of society in which our constitutional liberty had till now found its security. Freedom had been won by the sword of the baronage . . . but with the Battle of Towton feudalism vanished away . . . The old English Kingship, limited by the forces of feudalism or by the progress of constitutional freedom, faded suddenly away, and in its place we see, all-absorbing and unrestrained, the despotism of the New Monarchy."—*Short History of the English People*, by John Richard Green, p. 283.

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basin to the king,¹ the cardinal when the king had done presently dipped his hands in the same water, whereupon the duke disdaining to debase himself to the service of a priest shed the water in his shoes. The cardinal being therewith incensed threatened him that he would sit upon his skirts, upon which the duke, to show that he slighted his threats, and withal that the king might take notice of the cardinal's malice, appeared next day at court nobly apparelled as was his wont, but without skirts to his doublet. The king and many others demanded what he meant by that strange fashion, and he answered jestingly, that it was done by way of precaution that the cardinal should not now sit upon his skirts."²

The time for reprisals was yet to come, but this pleasantry was not forgotten. A few years later the Duke of Norfolk thought it too great presumption to "wash with the cardinal before dinner," and the head which the proud Buckingham had obstinately refused to bow before the priest, fell under the axe of the executioner.

The most cursory review of Wolsey's life will show with how much deliberation and pertinacity he pursued his policy of centralisation. To train the king in a course which flattered his love of arbitrary power, to foment jealousies and enmities among the nobles, to win over some, to rid the court of others on pretence of honourable service elsewhere, and to trump up charges against those who could neither be conciliated nor intimidated, were necessary steps in his system of statesmanship, till gradually those whom he had singled out for condign punishment found themselves isolated and friendless.³

¹ Washing hands before dinner in public was an established court ceremony, and the Marshal of the Ewer, whose duty it was to present the silver basin, was one of the high officers of the Royal household.

² *Life of Henry the Eighth*, by the Bishop of Hereford.

³ How well Wolsey had succeeded in arousing the king's suspicion

The young Earl of Surrey who had married Buckingham's daughter was sent to Ireland, but: A.D. 1516
 "There rested yet," says Holinshed, "the Earl of Northumberland, whom the cardinal doubted also lest he might hinder his purpose, when he should go about to wreake his malice against the Duke of Buckingham: and therefore he picked a quarrel to him, for that he had seized upon certain wardes which the cardinal said belonged of right to the king. And because the erle would not give over his title he was also committed to prison, and *after tooke it for a great benefit at the cardinal's hands* that he might be delivered out of his danger."¹

The Earl of Shrewsbury, who, although in due time he became one of Wolsey's most bitter persecutors, had maintained outwardly friendly terms with him while he was in power. He had his own reasons, however, for standing by Northumberland. On hearing of the earl's imprisonment he writes to his chaplain:

"I am sorry to hear that my Lord of Northumberland is committed to the Fleet, but hope the king will shortly be good lorde to him, and that the earl will take no displeasure as it might hurt himself."²

A week later Allen writes to his lord: "The king's grace sat in the Star Chamber, and there was examined the Earl of Northumberland, and so commanded to the Fleet, and there remains as yet."

The Star Chamber, though no longer the direct instrument for the extortion of money, was, under

of the ancient nobility may be inferred from the following extract: "I wolde you shulde make good watche on the Duke of Suffolke, the Duke of Buckinghame, on my Lorde of Northumberlande, on my Lorde of Darby, on my Lorde of Wyltshire, and on others whyche you thynke suspecte."—Henry VIII. to Wolsey, February, 1519 (*Addl. MSS.* 398, 644).

¹ *Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 645.

² George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, to Thomas Allen, April 30, 1516.—*Talbot Papers*.

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Wolsey's presidency, no less arbitrary and dangerous as a political engine, for the Chancellor was at once the prosecutor, the witness, and the judge.¹ Northumberland, who had at first boldly defended his rights, soon learnt that it was hopeless to expect that his case would be decided upon its merits; and seeing nothing before him but a long course of costly litigation, with deprivation of liberty and the king's disfavour, submitted himself to the royal mercy and accepted his pardon and release through the intercession of the all-powerful favourite.

"No news but that my Lord of Northumberland came forth of the Fleet on Saturday, and was with the king on Wednesday in his Privy Chamber."²

* * *

The Earl of Shrewsbury had about this time entered upon a negotiation for the marriage of one of his daughters, the Lady Mary Talbot, with the son of his cousin the Duke of Buckingham, which was, however, broken off on a question of money, in the dispensing of which, in the form of marriage portions, the earl proved very chary.³

"In the Exchequer he them checks,
In the Star Chamber he nods and becks,
And beareth him there so stout,
That no man dare rout
Duke, Earl, Baron and Lord,
But to his sentence must accord."—SKELTON.

In the end the proceedings generally resolved themselves into a pecuniary compromise, a portion of which went to swell Wolsey's enormous revenues. Lord Herbert of Cherbury says: "For making enquiry into the life of everybody no offence escaped censure and punishment unless they gave money."—*Life of Henry VIII.* p. 33.

² Sir Richard Sacheverell to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 16 May, 1516.—*Talbot Papers.*

³ He had five daughters to dispose of, three of whom ultimately became the wives of the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Dacre of the North, and the sixth Earl of Northumberland.

MATRIMONIAL PROJECTS.

The correspondence was conducted in a thoroughly businesslike tone: A.D. 1516

"The duke promised I should have him better cheap by one thousand marks than any other man; however, when I came to the point that I desired to know what sum he would ask, it was so great that I was in dread to speak of the matter since, for I hope with a little help to marry *all my daughters* with the same sum that he asked for *one* of them."¹

It was probably not without some regard to Wolsey's threatening attitude towards their order that the great nobles sought to strengthen themselves by intermarriages, and Shrewsbury now opened a correspondence with Northumberland on the subject of an alliance between this same daughter and the Lord Percy.

"The question has been asked of the Earl of Northumberland," writes the gossiping chaplain, "for the marriage of his son, by Sir William Compton and divers others, who hath made answer: 'I have concluded with my Lord of Shrewsbury.' He hath also been desired to bring him to Court; he answered: 'When he is better learned and well acquainted with his wife, shortly after he shall come to Court.' This conversation pricks him more hartly forward than ever he was."²

Personal acquaintance does not, however, appear to have produced a favourable effect upon either of the parties most concerned in the project.

* * *

Within a year after the fall of James IV. on Flodden field, his widowed queen had bestowed her hand upon Archibald, Earl of Angus, and the Duke of Albany set up his claim to the wardship of her infant son—the future

¹ Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Allen, May 15, 1516.—*Talbot Papers*.
² *Talbot Papers*.

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King of Scotland. The withdrawal of the frontier-garrisons, in order to aid in the suppression of the domestic dissensions which ensued, left the border comparatively unprotected, and the lawless population on both sides resumed their raids with undiminished ferocity.

Lord Dacre¹ was now the Warden of the East, West, and Middle Marches—a man of much courage and unwearied energy—but cruel, remorseless, and treacherous.² He was by no means illiterate, and his numerous letters on public affairs are never so forcibly expressed as when he exults over the ruin he has worked upon his troublesome neighbours. Early in 1514 he informs the Council that he had completely devastated forty-two miles of ploughed land and thirty-four townships, rendering the inhabitants homeless,³ and he prides himself upon having achieved these things with little help from others:

“As unto the distruccion of the king’s borders and subjects without any grete hurt done agaynst them, right harde and impossible it is for such a poure baron as I am to make resistance and kepe the kyng’s subjiets and their goodes in suretie all along the East and Middle and West Marchies, against the hole power of the realme

¹ William Dacre, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, called of the North, in contradistinction to the Lennards, Lords Dacre of the South. He was the third Baron, and married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury; his sister married the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury.

² The description of Hotspur which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of Prince Henry is far more applicable to Lord Dacre than to the Percy of a century earlier, who, warlike as he was, ever showed himself singularly free from bloodthirstiness, and was by no means one of those “that kills me some six or seven dozen Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands and says to his wife: ‘Fye upon this quiet life—I want work;’” but it was precisely the work that Dacre of the North found pleasure in.

³ So terrible and widespread had been the ravages on the Scottish border at this time that Wolsey makes it a matter of complaint that the starving population could not be kept out of England, whither they flocked from their ruined homesteads, begging for food, in spite of such penalties as “cutting off their ears and burning them in the face.”—*State Papers*, Henry VIII.

of Scotland, without grete help and assistance, when as in tymes past the Duke of Gloucester, being a kynge's broder, and the Erle of Northumberland, with their grete powers colde not well kepe them but ever destroyed. . . I had no strenth, no help of man freynnds, ne tennents within the same East Marchies that wolde ayde or assist me to serve the Kynge's Grace, . . . and will noder ryde ne goo, ne more of theym do service for me at my comaundment in the Kynge's name and yours."¹

Notwithstanding this alleged want of support, however, Dacre claims to have "burnt six towns more" than had been laid in ashes by the Scots on English soil, and to have taken two hundred sheep and a hundred oxen for every one carried off by them.

He is never backward in executing orders to carry fire and sword into the neighbouring territory, and tells the Bishop of Durham that, since such is the king's wish, he will readily make a raid into Teviotdale, although a man of much less substance than the Percy, who, with all his friends and adherents, had thought it a great enterprise. He complains, however, of the wasted state of Northumberland, from which no provisions could be procured, and of the apathy of the nobles in that county.

"Also please it, yr grace," he writes to Wolsey, "me deems it were necessary your letters of commandment be directed to my Lord of Northumberland and my Lord Clifford, to cause their tennents gif attendaunce upon your wardens, as they have been accustomed to in tymes passed, for, as I understande, Lord Clifford's tennents are warned not to rise without his special commaundment."²

In the early part of 1517 the Queen Dowager of Scotland (now Countess of Angus), flying before the Duke of Albany,³ sought refuge with her infant son at

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 11, 155.*

² *Ellis, Original Letters.*

³ Negotiations had previously been opened between Albany (who

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her brother's court, and it once more became Northumberland's duty to receive her in his territory and to escort her to the borders of Yorkshire. On Margaret's return to her own country a few weeks later King Henry writes to the earl :

"Right trustie and ryght well beloved cousine, we grete you well. And foreasmuch as we understand that at the time of the late repayre hither of our derest sister the Queen of Scots, ye, according to our letters then addressed, ryght thankfully acquitted yourself in geving your attendaunce for her conductinge and honorable conveyence we therefore geve unto you our speciall thanks.

"And wheir it is apoynted that our sayd derrest sister shall now return into the realme of Scotlande we wot and desyre to put yourselfe, and our cousine the lady your wiffe, in a redines likewas to accompany and conduct her at this her sayde returne from our citie of Yorke, where she entendith to be the xxix daie of this monneth instaunte so to attend upon hyr to Newburrow, wherby you shall deserve our further thanks to be remembered accordingly.

"Geven under our sign at our Manor of Richmonde this vii daie of Maie." ¹

Northumberland seems to have become weary of these ceremonials, and writes to the king, begging that his wife may be excused from giving her attendance, she not being "in case to ride"; at the same time, he begs Shrewsbury to intercede for his own exemption from a service involving heavy charges :

"After my moist hartie recomendacion I recommend

aspired to the guardianship of the boy king) and the English court, and Henry had consented to his coming to England, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lords Dacre and Conyers being "laied in Scotland and the Earl of Surrey at Boulogne" as hostages for his safety.—*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. ii. No. 2253.

¹ *Talbot Papers*, vol. i. f. 49.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

me unto you. And my lorde I have sende youe by my trustie servaunte, this berer, the copy of my letter to the king's grace wherein his grace's pleasour is that my bedfellow and wiffe should attende upon the Quene of Scottis from Yorke to Newburrow. Wherein my lorde, I assertayne you of suretie she is not in caise to ride, wherefore boith she and I must besich your good lordship to make hir excuse to his grace to pardon hir, seeing she may noon otherwis doo; for glad she would have doone it if she had might; and as for myself I shall according to his grace is commandment gev myn attendaunce of hir grace notwithstandinge. I have sent your lordship the copy of my lettir which as I take it is to bring hir grace from Yorke to Newburrow, wherein I pray your good lordship to sende me your advice, for I meane by my said lettir to meet her without Yorke, and so to await upon hir grace to Newbarrow for eschewing of further charge, seeing I am not appoynted to bring her into York.

A.D. 1517
—

“My lord, I send you not myn own letter bicaus I have sende it up to London already a sennight ago, and hath noon aunswer, for (to tell your good lordship the playnes) to be excuside if I may from this business, but of a suretie my lord this copy is word for word. My lord methinke I nede not to be put to this busines if they would have pondered the charge that they have put of late upon me, and the payments that I have made of late. Written at Lekingfeld the xxiii daie of Maie [1517].

“Your owne assured,

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”

“To myn owne good lorde,

“My Lord of SHREWSBURY.”

¹ *Talbot Papers*, A. f. 51.

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The lady was accordingly excused from attendance, but the earl's escort was not dispensed with, as we learn from a letter from Magnus to Wolsey, in which he says :

"My lord steward attended the Queen of Scots to Doncaster ; she was honorably received on entering Yorkshire by Lord Darcey, and at York by the Lord of Northumberland and the Mayor."

The earl had, as appears from his letter to Shrewsbury, endeavoured to escape the duty imposed upon him on the plea of its expense, but a much more costly service was exacted from him in the following year when, Wolsey having arranged a meeting between the kings of England and France, he was appointed one of the ten earls to wait upon Francis I. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. His personal retinue on this occasion consisted of six gentlemen, three chaplains, and twenty-three domestics, with "twenty horses all caparisoned in trappings of velvet embroidered in gold and silver."¹ Neither he nor his brother peers, however, could have derived much gratification from a ceremonial in which their state was completely eclipsed by the princely magnificence of Wolsey's appointments and retinues,² and the parts assigned to them were conspicuously subordinated to that of the ambitious and arrogant cardinal.

The impulsive and outspoken Buckingham now played into the hands of his enemy, by the open expression of his dissatisfaction, and loud remonstrances against being subjected to such heavy charges for a useless and insincere international pageant, intended only to humiliate the ancient nobility of the realm in the eyes of France for the gratification of an upstart's vanity. These

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. II, 286.*

² "Of the nobleness of this Cardinall the Frenchmen made bokes shewynge the triumphant dooynges of the Cardinall's royalte."—*Hall's Chronicle.*

words were reported to the King with the necessary exaggeration to make them the more offensive, and Henry's censure only served to inflame the former favourite's anger against his powerful rival. The issue of a conflict between the hot-headed soldier and the wily churchman could not be doubtful: within two years of his splendid appearance on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "poor Edward Bohun" ascended the scaffold at Tower Hill, amidst universal lamentations for one whom England deemed "a most wise and noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."¹

As years grew upon him the Earl of Northumberland showed himself more than ever averse to participation in those border raids which were the congenial occupation of Dacre and other of his brother peers in the north. The formidable preparations made by the Duke of Albany in the beginning of 1523 threatened, however, to produce war on so large a scale, that he thought it his duty to accept the King's offer of the General Wardenship of all the Marches in the North. Shortly after, when, finding that the Scottish invasion had been postponed, he prayed to be relieved of this office, which was thereupon conferred upon the Earl of Surrey;² the Marquess of Dorset and Lord Dacre being joined in the commission.

"For refusing of this office," says a contemporary writer, "the Earl of Northumberland was not regarded

¹ Lingard. On hearing of the duke's execution, Charles V. is said to have exclaimed: "A butcher's dog has killed the finest buck in England." The Staffords were nearly as much predestined as the Percies to die violent deaths. The first duke had fallen at Shrewsbury fighting for Henry of Lancaster; his son and grandson fell in the same cause at Northampton and St. Albans (the latter during his father's lifetime), and Richard III. and Henry VIII. consigned the fourth and fifth dukes to the scaffold.

² The son of him who had commanded at Flodden ten years before, afterwards Duke of Norfolk.

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of his owne tenaunts, which disdained him and his blode, and much lamented his foly, and all men esteemed him without hart or love of honor and chivalrie."¹

It is quite intelligible that the Earl's adherents should have resented his surrender of an office which they had taught themselves to look upon as appertaining to him by right of his position in the north country. He had valid reasons, however, independently of his dislike to the duties which the Lord Wardenship imposed; for the post involved very heavy charges, and the magnificent Earl was frequently in straits for the means of maintaining even the requirements of his private station. Henry's exchequer was at a very low ebb, and Wolsey, lavish as he was in personal expenditure, was by no means liberal in granting supplies for public services, whenever he could throw the cost of these upon individuals, and more especially upon the great nobles, whom it was his pleasure as well as his policy to impoverish. That the Earl was not at this time in a condition to incur such responsibilities is evident from a letter which he wrote to Lord Dacre, asking for the loan of £100, for which amount he incloses an order upon the receiver of his lands in Cumberland, payable on next Lady-day, and stating that he was in want of this sum, as he had been at great expense at the parliament in London, whither he would soon have to go again.²

Although he did not feel justified in assuming the Lord Wardenship, Northumberland placed his services at the disposal of Surrey for the impending war,³ which

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*.

² From the Earl of Northumberland to Lord Dacre, June 5, 1523.—*Addl. MSS.* 24,965, p. 18.

³ "The Earl of Surrey being at Alnwick to him came the Eries of Northumberland and Westmorland, the Lords Clyfford, Dacre, and many noble Knights, Squires, and Yeomen, to the number of XLII." Hall. See Appendix XLV.

SIR WILLIAM PERCY.

however, owing to the Duke of Albany's irresolution, A.D. 1523
did not break out on this occasion.

* * *

Sir William Percy, whom we last met on Flodden Field, continued to take a prominent part in border warfare. Like Hotspur, "he had been a March man all his dayes," and Dacre in his reports to the Council repeatedly makes honourable mention of his services.

In 1522 the Bishop of Carlisle reports that "Sir William Percy, Lord Ogle, and others," to the number of two hundred, had attacked the border and slain Lance Carr, one of the worst borderers in Scotland, and brought his son and heir and a great prey in safety to England, losing only one man." "He begs the King for a letter of thanks to them, as otherwise he would have to give them money."²

On this occasion the successful soldiers received both thanks and money; as we find, by an order signed by the Lord-Lieutenant, that £122 13s. 4d. was awarded for distribution among them in sums varying in amounts from £13 6s. 8d. to Lord Ogle and William Percy, down to £2 to Sir Nicholas Ridley.³

These raids made serious demands upon the resources of the gentlemen of the north. In the following year we find Sir William Percy applying to Dacre for a supply of arrows for the use of his retainers, and asking that twenty of his horsemen might be allowed to return to

¹ Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram Percy, the earl's younger sons, are mentioned as having taken part in this raid.—*Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. vi. 426.

² Bishop of Carlisle to Council, May 22, 1522, Record Office. The king's thanks were conveyed to Sir William Percy and others on June 14 following.—*Ibid.*

³ *Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. i, 125, B.M. For a transcript of this document, which contains most of the best names in the North, see Appendix XLVI.

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their homes for eight days, to provide themselves with a remount, "those we have being so sore creysed." In reply to these moderate demands the Warden says that he can furnish no arrows, as, if he did so, other Captains would expect the same; and considering that Percy's men had "only made five raids this quarter," the King does not think them overpressed with riding, but expects them to "make a raid at least once a week while the grass is on the ground."¹

There is no doubt that the energy and the daring of Dacre, and perhaps also his savage mode of warfare,² served to keep the lawless Scotch borderers in check; yet Wolsey was not satisfied, and reproached him with want of vigour in harassing the Scots, bidding him endeavour to acquire as good a name as Northumberland³ and others. In reply Dacre repeats his complaints of want of co-operation on the part of the northern lords, whose tenants, comprising two-thirds of the strength of the West Border, would not rise at his summons as in times past, when "all the inhabitants of the West Marches were at the Lord Warden's command."

To please the Cardinal, however, Dacre now arranged for a "ride into Scotland," with the view "to cast down the Tower and great steeple of Ednam, which is double

¹ Lord Dacre to Sir William Percy, June 23, 1523.—*Addl. MSS.* 24,965, B.M. fol. 15 and 16.

² In a letter to the Warden, dated June 23, 1523, his brother Philip Dacre reports that he had made a nocturnal expedition to burn Leynton Tower, and succeeded in setting it on fire, but that "*unfortunately, all the men that was within it, which was sixteen, was saved, by reason of the gable of the Tower and the wind, which was their friend.*"

³ *Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. iii. 37. From which it may be inferred that the earl's military conduct was approved at court; this is confirmed by a return furnished in 1525 by the Council of the North, "being the names of such as haith had the rewell of the countrey of Northumberland and keepers both of Rydesdale and Tynedale." In this document both the earl and his son are highly commended; others are stated to have allowed the county to be "misguided and clear out of order," while under Lord Dacre "evil reigned."

vaulted, and the Castell of Stitchell . . . to burn Ednam and Stitchell, the towns under Stitchell Crag, Hasington, Manes, Newtown, Aynthorne, and others on the road, also Akles and Mersington."

Towards this expedition the Earl of Northumberland contributed the greater part of his tenantry, and Sir William Percy brought 200 men into the field.¹

There was no love lost between Dacre and Northumberland, the former of whom in the following year caused the Council to be informed that the earl had "gone against the Scots" as if he had been the King of England in person, bearing the cross keys"—the royal badge of York—upon his banner. Henry was peculiarly sensitive to any infringement of his authority, but on this occasion Wolsey honestly and generously exonerated the accused from an unfounded charge :

"Finally, sir, when your highnes was infourmed that my Lord of Northumberland in this his proceeding against the Scotts wore the crosse keyes which is the bage of your Church of Yorke, wherewith (though it had to be) your highness of your great goodness was contented to me, yet for the more parfitt knowledge therof I have commoned with your servante, my treasurer, Sir William Gascoyne, who shewith me assurdly and undoubtidly, as he wil abide by and is redy to justifie upon his oth made unto your grace, that neither the said Erle of Northumberland, ne any of his retynue, ware the crosse keyes, but that they ware your highnes cognizance onely, and under that his own bage. Wherfor, Sir, your grace hath cause to give the less

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* June 27, 1523.

² In an expedition in October, 1524, when Sir William Percy commanded a retinue of two captains, two petty captains, and 133 mounted men.—*Ibid.*

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credence unto those which wolde make unto the same such fayned and untrue reaportes.”¹

In 1526 Henry, during one of his “progresses,” paid a visit to Petworth in the absence of its Lord :

“The king is merry and in good health, and has met the Earl of Arundel² and others at Petworth. The officers of the Earl of Northumberland, to whom the place belongs, presented him with six oxen and forty wethers, and he had good game and recreation.”³

It is significant that the Earl having in December of this year presented the Lord Cardinal’s gentleman usher with 100 marks, Wolsey a few days later commends “the Earl of Northumberland’s pending causes before the council of the north” to their favorable consideration, and they in reply promise that they will endeavour to treat him “lovingly, and with goodwill, as they have done hitherto.”⁴

In the spring of the following year negotiations were set on foot by the Earl with a view to a personal meeting between him and the Earl of Angus, for the redress of grievances ; but the Scot showed no disposition to trust himself on English soil, and before the arrangements for their interview were concluded the fifth Earl of Northumberland died at Wressil Castle, on 19 May, 1527, in the fiftieth year of his age.

A striking illustration of Wolsey’s interference in the domestic affairs of the great families of England is afforded

¹ Wolsey to the king, November 26, 1523.—*Letters and Papers*.

² William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had married Northumberland’s sister Ann.

³ Sir Will^m Fitzwilliam to Wolsey, August 3, 1526.—*State Papers*. The writer was an officer of the royal household, and held the manors of Newton-Derwent and Catton, of the Earl of Northumberland, at a rental of £6 a year.

⁴ Duke of Richmond’s council to Wolsey, December 25, 1526.—*Ibid.*

FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

by his instructions on the subject of the earl's funeral, and the subsequent disposal of his widow and children. A.D. 1527

These were addressed not, as might be supposed, to the son and heir of the deceased lord, now the head of the house, but to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Cumberland,¹ who, among other injunctions, is told not to allow Lord Percy to attend his father's funeral. No reason was assigned for this outrageous order; it was probably intended to mark the Cardinal's displeasure for some past offence.

Six days after the death Cumberland writes: "I have made a new proportion of expences for the funeral of my Lord of Northumberland, which they have appointed to take place on Thursday come-se'nnight; and trust not to exceed the sum assigned in his highness' letter. . . . The household is a heavy charge, owing to the great resort of strangers. Neither beeves, muttens, nor salt-fish was left at my Lord's death, and *only twenty marks in money*, which is spent long ago, with much more, for which pledges have been given. More money must be borrowed before the funeral, else the house will break and "sparple," which would be a dishonor while the body lies unburied. If it be broken up afterwards, the servants should have their wages at least for the past time and for this quarter. There are also many poor men to be paid for hand labor."²

Again, a few days after the funeral:

"I have, according to his grace's command, delivered

¹ Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, who, shortly after the death of his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, had married the Lady Margaret Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's eldest daughter, who died in 1543. On the death, in 1537, of the sixth Earl of Northumberland without issue, the whole of the Percy fee in Craven was settled upon her son, the second Earl of Cumberland, by an Act of Parliament in 28 Henry VIII.

² Earl of Cumberland to Tho. Hennege, gentleman to my Lord Legate's Grace, May 25, 1527.—*State Papers*.

HENRY PERCY, FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

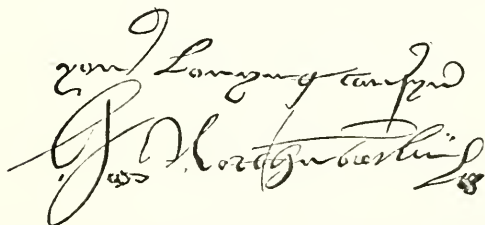
A.D.
1478-1527

to my Lord of St. Mary's Abbey, York, certain parcels of plate, of my Lord of Northumberland, late deceased, amounting to £666 6s. 4d., which money they have received from the Abbot, and therewith buried the said Lord. . . . There were neither priests, scholars, poor folk, noblemen, nor gentlemen at the burial to the number they had prepared for, Whitsunday being so nigh ; so that a good sum was reserved both of the money for the "doole," and for the housekeeping at the time of the burial. . . . I have offered my house to the Countess and her children to be as chief lady and mistress of the same. She has, however, made answer that she is too weak and ill to undertake the journey, and would be glad to remain here. . . . She is willing to live poorly, and will be at pains to please his grace. My lord her son, and her children go with me until his grace's pleasure be known."¹

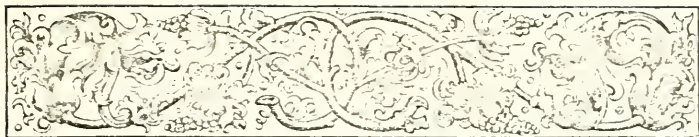
* * *

"Only twenty marks in money," left behind him by Henry Percy, the Magnificent!

¹ *State Papers*, June 17, 1527.



FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF HENRY 5TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.



CHAPTER IX.

Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland, K.G. Surnamed "The Unthrifty."

Born, *circa* 1502-3

Died, June 29, 1537.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

Henry VII.

Henry VIII. 1509.



LONG after the period of which we are now treating, the most enlightened minds still shared in the belief that the planetary system governed the course of man's individual existence, and that certain conjunctions of the celestial bodies irrevocably predestined him to good or evil fortune; to success or failure in his career; to domestic happiness or misery; and finally directed the tenure of his life and the nature of his death.

A.D. 1502

It is more than probable that, in accordance with the custom of the age, a horoscope had been cast over the cradle of the heir to the house of Percy, and if this had been of auspicious augury to his future, his faith in astrology must have been severely shaken before he died. From boyhood upward, if we except the few sunny hours during which he basked in the smiles of his

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A.D.
1502-1537

first love,—a dream from which he was soon rudely awakened,—his short life was so full of sadness, suffering, and humiliation, that he may well have been grateful when a premature, though lingering, death relieved him from the burden.

Lord Percy received his early training in the magnificent household of Cardinal Wolsey.¹ It was then the custom for the sons of the great nobles to be made not only the pupils but the personal attendants of Church dignitaries,² to whom they acted in the capacity of pages; and it was doubtless gratifying to Wolsey's insatiable vanity to be waited upon by Percies and Howards, Nevilles and Cliffords, whose fathers moreover not only solicited such employment as a favour, but paid large sums for the privilege of the admission of their heirs into the retinue of the great Churchman.

The young lords appear to have led pleasant lives in the service of one³ who, arbitrary and arrogant towards those whose rank trenched upon his authority, or who ventured to thwart his will or question his supremacy,

¹ "The palace of Wolsey was with reason considered the best introduction to Court and the fairest avenue to preferment. It was therefore not surprising that even the Earl of Northumberland, the most genuine representative of the old English nobility, should solicit and obtain for his eldest son this envied distinction."—*Memoirs of Ann Boleyn*, by E. Benger, 1837.

² The practice continued in force to much later times. The Earl of Arundel, writing to his son in 1620, bids him "In all things reverence, honour, and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents; esteeming whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundell, your mother, or myself should say it. And in all things esteem yourself as my Lord's page; a breeding which youths of my house far superior to you, were accustomed unto, as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bredd as pages with bishoppes."—*Cavendish's Life of Wolsey*, note 2, p. 38.

³ According to Fiddes, Wolsey's household consisted of 800 members, of whom nine or ten were lords (for these a separate table was kept), fifteen knights, and forty esquires. The young nobles paid for their education, but attended in the cardinal's retinue as pages on occasions of State ceremonial.—*Life of Wolsey*.

THE PAGE AND THE MAID OF HONOUR.

was ever a kind and gentle master to all under his direct control.¹ A.D. 1521

When in his twentieth year Lord Percy being in the course of his duty required to attend upon the Cardinal when he repaired to Court, he, while his master was closeted with the King in the transaction of affairs of State, would pass his time in the Queen's apartments, and, for want of other employment, indulge in dalliance with Her Majesty's maidens in waiting: the result being, that he fell in love with one of the fairest and most attractive of these.

The younger daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn had at this time barely entered upon her seventeenth year;² yet in point of worldly knowledge she had greatly the advantage of her suitor, who had been kept in strict tutelage, and even now was treated as a mere boy by his father and the Cardinal. The fair Anne Boleyn had, on the contrary, while still a child, won admiration at the gay Court of France, and on her return to England already carried with her a train of devoted admirers, not the least favoured among whom was the poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt. But this accomplished courtier, however persuasively he might sigh in verse,³ was already provided with a

¹ "Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
But to those men that sought him sweet as summer."
—*King Henry VIII.* Act iv. Scene 2.

² The birth of Anne Boleyn has been assigned to various dates, some writers placing it as early as 1501 (at which rate she would have attained the mature age of thirty-two at the time of her marriage with King Henry); others as late as 1509; but the weight of evidence is in favour of 1506-7. This would make her—as she is by most writers stated to have been—thirty years of age at the time of her death.

³ See his poem "The Falcon," Appendix XLVI^A., in which poor Anne Boleyn on the eve of her execution is made to recall the memory of her early "lover steadfast and true," an allusion which has been applied to Lord Percy. It is more probable, however, that Wyatt would have claimed that epithet for himself than given it to his rival.

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A.D.
1502-1537

wife, and soon found himself distanced by the young noble, who was ready to offer, not only his heart but, his hand to the fascinating and by no means unworldly maid of honour.

The story of the rude interruption of Lord Percy's courtship stands recorded on the authority of one who professes to have been an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. His account is, indeed, so graphic, and so evidently bears the stamp of truthfulness, that no other words could convey an equally accurate impression of the incident.

The writer,¹ after mentioning that on Lord Percy's love-affair coming to the king's knowledge he revealed to the cardinal his own passion for the fair maid of honour, and desired him to take means for putting a stop to the young man's pretensions, proceeds:—

"So that when the Cardinall returned from the Court to his house at Westminster, being in the Gallerye, and not forgetting the King's commaundement, called the sayd Lo : Percye unto him, and before us his servants then attendinge, sayde unto him : ' I marueile not a little (quoth he) of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus *attempt*

¹ "An Account of Queen Anne Bullen, from a MS. in the handwriting of Sir Roger Twisden, Bart., 1623."—Published in Nott's *Life of Wyatt*, note p. 442. The paper is indorsed: "I receaved this from my Vncle Wyatt, anno 1623, who being yonge had gathered many notes touching this lady, not without an intent to have opposed Saunders" (*i.e.* to answer the Jesuit who had written a work vilifying Anne Boleyn). This "Uncle Wyatt" was a brother of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, who then held a post in the household of Wolsey. A comparison of this document with the passages relating to the same subject in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, shows the two narratives to be, with a few verbal differences, absolutely identical; and as it is obviously impossible that two different persons should have recorded their impressions of the scenes described in precisely the same order and words, one or the other narrative must have been plagiarised. The question of authorship need not be here discussed; it is sufficient to allow that the authority attaching to the *original* document, whichever that may be, is beyond doubt; and either narrative thus serves the purpose of illustrating history.

to assure thyselfe with a foolishe gyrl yonder in the Court, Anne Bullen. Doest thou not consider the estate, that God hath called thee unto in this world ; for after thy father's death thou art most like to inherite and enioye one of noblest Earledomes in this kingdome, and therefore it had been most meete and conuenient for thee to haue had thy father's consent in this case ; and to haue acquainted the Kings Ma^{tie} therewith requiring his Princely fauore, and in all such matters submitting thy proceedings unto His Highenese, who would not onely thankfully haue excepted (accepted) thy submission, but I am assured would haue so provided for the purpose, that hee would haue aduanced thee much more nobly and haue matched thee according to thy degree and honor ; and so by thy wyse behaiour (thou) mightest haue growne into his highe fauore to thy greate advancement : But now see what you haue done ! Through your wilfulnesse you have not onely offended your father, but also your louinge Souereign Lorde, and *matched yourself* with such a one as neyther the King nor your father will consent unto. And hereof I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for thy father, who at his coming shall eyther *breake this unadvised bargayne*, or else disinherit thee for euer. The Kings Ma^{tie} will also complayne on thee to thy father, and require no less than I haue saide, because he intended to preferr Anne Bullen to another, wherein the King had alreadye trauilled, and being almost at a poynt with one for her ; though shee knewe it not, yet hath the King like a Politique Prince conveyed the matter in such sort, that she will bee I doubt not, upon his Grace's mention gladd and agreeable to the same.'

“ ‘Sir’ (quoth the Lo : Percy weeping) ‘I knewe

¹ This may be taken as a figure of speech. There is nothing so far at all suggestive of the lachrymose mood in the tone of Henry Percy's reply to the cardinal.

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1502-1537

not the King's pleasure and am sory for it; I considered I am of good yeares, and thought meselfe able to provide me a conuenient wife, as my fancie shoold please me, not doubting, but that my Lorde and father would haue bene right well content. Though shee but a simple maide, and a knight to her father, yet is she descended of right noble bloud and parentage; for her mother is nighe of the Norfolks bloud, and her father descended of the Earle of Ormound, being one of the Earle's heires generall. Why then, sir, should I be anything scrupulous to match with her in regard to her estate and descent equall with myne, euen when I shall bee in most dignitie? Therefore I most humbly beseech your Grace's fauore herein, and also to entreate the Kings Ma^{tie} on my behalfe for his Princely fauoure in this matter, *which I cannot forsake.*"

There is a simple manliness and honesty in this address which might have touched a heart more hard and stern than the cardinal's; but the king coveted the lady, and what to him was the honest love of a boy against the amorous caprice of his royal master?

"So! sirs' (quoth the Cardinall to us) 'yee may see what wisdome is in this willfull boyes heade! I thought that when thou heardest the Kings pleasure and intendment herein, thou wouldest haue relented, and put thyself and thy voluptuous act wholly to the Kings will and pleasure, and by him to haue bene ordered, as His Grace should haue thought good!'

"Syr' (quoth the Lo: Percy) 'so I would; but in this matter *I haue gone soe farre before soe many worthy*

¹ Anne Boleyn's mother was a daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. The founder of the family appears to have been Anne's great grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London in 1453, upon whose "hereditary pretensions" to the Ormond lineage, Banks (in his *Extinct Barmes*) throws some doubt.

THE LOVER'S PLEA.

wittnesses, that I knowe not how to discharge meselfe and my conscience."

A.D.
1521-1523

"'Whye' (quoth the Cardinal,) 'thinkest thou that the King and I knowe not what we have to doe in as weightie a matter as this? yes, I warrant thee. But I see no submission in thee to that purpose."

"'Forsooth, my Lord' (quoth my Lo. Percy) 'if it please your Grace I will submitte meself wholly to the King and your Grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weightie burden thereof.'

"'Well then' (quoth my Lord Cardinall) 'I will send for your father out of the north, and he and wee shall take such order; and in the meane season I chardge thee that thou resort no more into her company as thou wilt aby the Kings indignation.'

"And soe he rose up and went into his chamber.'

The conversation thus recorded is of importance in its bearing upon future historical events; but there would appear to be some inaccuracy in the report. This does not in the slightest degree affect its general credibility; on the contrary, the discrepancies are precisely such as a truthful person writing from memory some time after the event would be liable to.

The Cardinal in the first instance reproaches Lord Percy with having "attempted to assure" himself with the lady, which need imply little more than earnest attentions; he proceeds, however, to charge him with having "matched himself," and declares his intention to "breake this unadvised bargayne,"—expressions which point to more intimate relations and appear inconsistent with the former terms. Lord Percy's own words convey the impression that he was deeply in love with the maid of honour, and that he had contemplated making her his wife; but nothing that he is reported to say can be construed into an admission of an engagement, far less

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a "Pre-Contract" of such a character as could have formed grounds for the annulment of the subsequent royal marriage.

It was his interest to represent the character of their then existing relations in as serious a light as possible; yet all he can urge is that he has so far committed himself to the lady "*before many worthy witnesses*" that he did not feel justified in receding from his position. Not a word has come to light to throw doubt upon Lord Percy's solemn declaration, ten years later, that there had never been "*any contract or promise of marriage between her and me.*"^{*}

Lord Herbert says that the Young Percy had "obtained her good will to marriage," and adds that "the treaty proceeded *to little less than a contract*," but it is precisely that "little less" upon which the whole question hinges; nor do the means exist of solving its difficulties. The testimony of contemporary historians upon this point possesses no authentic value, since these could not have been expected to have any personal knowledge of so trivial an incident as a flirtation between a page and a maid of honour; and when, ten years later, the early intimacy of the young pair had become a matter of public importance, there was a strong motive on the part of the King's friends to misrepresent the character of these relations. Some went so far as to assert that there had been a secret marriage; whereas others denied the possibility of a marriage having been even contemplated, because of Henry Percy being at that time

^{*} Cavendish says: "There grewe such love betweene them that at length they were ensured together, *intending to marry*"; and again, that "it was devised that the Lord Percy's assurance should be infringed and dissolved," (pp. 64, 65)—expressions which need indicate nothing more than such sentimental relations as a serious flirtation, carried on "*before many worthy witnesses*," by a boy and a girl might be expected to lead to.

BROKEN TIES.

A. D.

1523-1524

engaged to Lord Shrewsbury's daughter. No such engagement then existed, however. The negotiations for Lord Percy's marriage with Lady Mary Talbot, set on foot by their parents in 1516, did not pass beyond the preliminary stage, and were broken off in consequence, apparently, of mutual personal disinclination on the part of those most concerned in the matter. Marriages of *convenance* were not by any means at that time the rule in England even in families of the highest rank; among whom, indeed, love matches appear to have been quite as common as in other classes of society. It is, moreover, obvious that had Lord Percy proposed marriage while engaged to another lady, Wolsey and his father would have severely reprobated such a breach of faith on his part; whereas no such offence is hinted at by either. On the contrary he tells the Cardinal that he thought his father would be "right well content" at his choosing a wife.

In 1516 neither Shrewsbury nor Northumberland could have had any sufficiently powerful motive for forcing the inclinations of their children; but when, seven years later, Wolsey urged the immediate marriage of the young Percy as the means of weaning him from an objectionable attachment, and of averting the king's anger, the interrupted negotiations were resumed, and parental authority was exercised on both sides to bring about the alliance with little regard to the feelings of the principal parties to the bargain. Wolsey owed his ascendancy over the king in great measure to his readiness to promote the indulgence of his pleasures, innocent or otherwise. Nothing could have been further from his intention than to exalt the maid of honour to the throne, for at that time the divorce of Queen Catherine had not entered the mind of any man; but Henry was

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infatuated and his passion must not be thwarted. With the prospect of becoming Countess of Northumberland the lady might well hesitate to accept the position of the King's mistress ; but, that hope removed, her resistance, it was argued, might not prove formidable. Not content, then, with Lord Percy's promise of renunciation of his cherished hopes, the Cardinal claimed the aid of the Earl to complete the breach between the lovers.¹ The author of the Twysden MS. thus describes the interview between father and son :

"Then was the Earle of Northumberland sent North for in the King's name, who uppon receipt of the King's letters made all the speede he could out of the North unto the King. Who at this first cominge made his resort to my Lord Cardinall, as commonlie all other that were sent for in such sort did, who certified them of the cause of their sendinge : and when the Earl was come to my Lord, he was brought unto my Lord into his gallery, and were there a long space in secrette communication ; which done and after the drinking of a cup of wine, the Earle departed and going his way sate down at the galleries end, in the halfe-place upon a forme that was standing there for the wayters ease, and calling his Sonne thither said unto him to this effect :

"'Sonne,' (quoth he) 'even as thou hast bene, and allwayes wert, a proud licentious and unthriftie waster, so hast thou now declared thyselfe ; and therefore what ioy comfort pleasure or solace, shall I conceaue of thee,

¹ Wolsey was not, however, disposed to be made a cat's-paw in this affair or to incur the brunt of the enmity of the lovers. He therefore caused the summons to the Earl to be sent by the King himself, assuring him that "there was no such way to preserve the gentlewoman for himself, and together to conceal his love, as to use a cunning persuasion of the marriage to the Earl."—Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 122.

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that thus without discretion hast misused thyselfe? hauinge neyther regarde unto me, thy naturall father, nor yet to the King thy naturall Sovereigne Lord, to whom all honest and loyall subiects beare faithful obedience; nor to the wealthe of thy owne estate; but hast unadvisedly *assured thyselfe* unto her, for whom the King is with thee highly displeased, whose displeasure is intolerable for any subject to beare. But his grace considering the lightnesse of thy head and willful qualities of thy person, his indignation were able to ruine me and my posteritie utterly; yet he being my singular good Lord and favorable Prince, and also my Lord Cardinall, my good Lord, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewed fact, and doe lament thy lightnes, rather than maligne me for the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both thou and I be more bound, than wee be able well to consider. I pray God, that this may be to thee a sufficient admonition to use thyselfe more wisely hereafter; for I assure thee that if thou doest not amend thy prodigalatie thou wilt be the last Earle of our house; for of thy natural inclination thou art wastfull and prodigall, and wilt continue to waste all that thy progenitors haue with greate care and trauel gathered and kept together with honor. But the King's Ma^{tie}, beinge my singular and good and gracious Lord, I assure thee I trust soe to order my succession, that you shall consume but a litile thereof; for to tell thee true, I intend not to make thee my heire; for I thanke God I haue more boyes, that I trust will proue much better than you, and use themselves more like unto wise and honest men, of whom I will choose the most likeliest to succeed me. Nowe, good my masters and gentlemen, (quoth he unto us) it may be, you chaunce hereafter when I am dead, to see these things that I have spoken to my Sonne, prove as

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true as I speake them : Yet in the meane season I desire you to be his freendes, and to tell him his faulte when he doth amisse, wherein you schall shew yourselve freendly unto him, and (quoth he) I take my leaue of you ; and Sonne, goe your waies unto my Lord your Master, and attend uppon him according to your ductie.¹ And soe hee went downe through the Hall into his Barge.

" Then after longe consultation about the Lord Percy's *late assurance* it was deuised that the same should be infringed and dissolued, and that the Lord Percy should marry one of the Earles of Shrewsbury's daughters, which after all this he did, by meanes whereof the *former contract* was frustrated ;² wherewith Mrs. Anne Bullen was greatly offended, promising if euer it lay in her power she would worke much displeasure to the Cardinall, as afterward she did indeed ; and yet he was not in blame altogether ; for he did nothing but by the King's deuised will and commandment. And as my Lo : Percy was commanded to auoyd her company, soe was she dischargd of the Court and sent home to her father for a season, whereat she smoked ; for all this while she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose.³

¹ " The earl so checked his son that the fear of displeasing his father became at length his predominant passion. So that it neither served him to declare the merits of the gentlewoman, nor to tell his father that his *promise before witnesses* had engaged him further than he knew well how to come off. The apprehension of the King's displeasure having wrought that impression in the Earl that he would take no denial or excuse on his son's part, till he made him renounce all his pretences to her, while also he urged so far as at length his son consented to marry the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter."—Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 122.

² It will be seen that the Earl charges his son with nothing more serious than the having "assured" himself ; which at most can only be taken to mean his having entered into a secret engagement. This, however, must have been of an informal nature, for as neither Lord Percy nor Anne Boieyn had attained their majority at this time, the consent of their parents would have been a necessary condition to anything approaching to a betrothal.

"Now began the grudge that afterwards wrought the Cardinall's ouerthrowe. After my Lord Percy's troublesome matters were brought to a good stay, and all things donne that were deuised, Mistress Anne was reuoced to the Court where she after florished in great estimacion and fauoure."¹

A.D.
1523-1524

Thus passed away the one gleam of sunshine that ever brightened the sad life now recorded.

Forbidden access to the presence of his love, and banished from the court she adorned, Lord Percy sought forgetfulness amid the clash of arms on the northern border; but neither time nor change effaced her image from his heart,² while she——

The effect produced upon "Mistress Anne" by Wolsey's action was less that of wounded affection than of resentment aroused by baffled ambition. She "smoked," we are told, at being separated from Lord Percy, being then "ignorant as yet how much the King loved her," and preferring "to be that lord's wife than a King's mistress."

No sooner however did she become aware of the violence of Henry's passion, and "of the great love that he bare her in the bottom of his stomach, than she began to

¹ Nott's *Life of Wyatt*, p. 438 *et seq.*

² Lord Percy's love for the fair maid of honour was undoubtedly much more than a passing fancy, and the poetical outburst attributed to him after her execution is probably no exaggerated reflection of his actual feelings.

"What's life to me, Northumberland's proud heir?

Life without love is earth without a sun;

Why should the fates thus ever place me here?

Why am I doomed life's cheerless course to run?

* * * * *

But thee fond mayd—to starry heights upborne,

Whose name my lips to 'plain thee scarce can move,

Thee, like Philomela, will I ever mourne

Anna, my first, my last, my only love!"

—From *Modern Imitations of Ancient Poetry*, by F. H. Surtees.

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look very hault and stout, having all manner of jewels or rich apparel, that might be gotten with money.”¹

Even without the bestowal of jewels the King had little to fear from a rival employed at a distance from court, and formally contracted to another wife; for Lord Percy had been despatched to the North to succeed the Earl of Surrey in his Wardenship, and his father's positive commands had been laid upon him for his immediate marriage with the Lady Mary Talbot.

Surrey, who, after a short service, proved as anxious to be “disburdened” of his office as the magnificent Earl had been before him, writes to Wolsey:—

“I am glad to hear the Lord Percy will succeed me in my command. If he marry my Lord Steward's daughter, he will have great help from Dacre by reason of their alliance. The Chief Baron is with the Earl of Northumberland to conclude the matter.”

A fortnight later he urges the Cardinal to relieve him of his duties in the following month:—

“Iff my Lord Percy shall not enter then into the office of Warden, me thynk my Lord Dacre might well occupye for the tyme as his deputie, which I doute not by the Kynges commandment, he wolde content to do, consydering the nere alliaunce they be now off; and, though the contre' people be not of the best content with hym, yet I doute not, so it be knowen that my Lord Percy shall come shortly after, they will be content with hym for a tyme.”²

Arrived at his post, Lord Percy, though from this time forth he appears to have been subject to frequent attacks of severe illness, threw himself with ardour into his military duties. To meet a threatened irruption of

¹ Cavendish, vol. i. p. 67.

² Earl of Surrey to Wolsey, September 12, 1523, *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. vi.* 313.

THE SEPARATION.

the Scots in October 1523, he led to the Borders a large force under "eight Chief and eight Petty Captaynes" having in his personal retinue, "Esperaunce Herald," two chaplains and two surgeons.' For this service he received the King's personal thanks; and the only fault that the Chancellor could find with his former pupil's administration, was for undue leniency in the treatment of the enemy, and more especially of prisoners who fell into his hands.

A.D.
1523-1525

By this time Wolsey had succeeded in one of the main objects of his policy. Not only had he by the various means at his disposal undermined the influence, but he had, to some extent, broken the spirit of the great nobles, who seem, almost without a struggle, to have acquiesced in the extinction of their power.²

The descendants of those haughty and turbulent barons whose swords had flashed from their scabbards on the slightest encroachment upon their actual or fancied rights, now followed submissively in the train of the arrogant priest, whose behests they obeyed with a deference which they had not always shown to their kings.

This revolution (for to such indeed it amounted) was congenial to Henry's arbitrary temper; and he contemplated with satisfaction the humiliation of an order which had too often thwarted the will and restricted the authority of the sovereign. His minister, it is true, exercised a power infinitely greater than that wielded by all the

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig., B. v. 304.*

² "Of the great houses some were now extinct; others lingered only in obscure branches which were shadows of their former greatness. With the exception of the Poles, the Stanleys, and the Howards, themselves families of recent origin, hardly a fragment of the older Baronage interfered from this time in the work of government."—Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 234.

The possible issue of the great Rebellion in the following century, if the old English Baronage had been left in possession of their power and influence, would form an interesting subject for historical speculation.

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peers in Parliament combined, and assumed an attitude of quasi-royalty,¹ which might have excited the jealousy of a less suspicious monarch; but Henry felt strong enough to submit to an influence which he had himself created, and which he could destroy when it should cease to serve his purpose.

One mocking voice was, however, incessantly raised against the pretensions of the all-powerful Cardinal. Skelton, the Laureate, disappointed of the Church preferment which he had solicited, lost no opportunity of appealing to the nobles to resent the insolence of the upstart Chancellor; and blunt and clumsy as were the shafts he shot, they were not without some effect.

"Why come ye not to court?"² was the title of one of his most virulent satires, in which he broadly depicts the condition to which the ancient nobility of England was now reduced:—

"The Erle of Northumberland
Dare take nothing in hand;
Our Barons be so bold
Into a mousehole they wolde
Run away and creep,
Like a mainey of sheep.
Dare not look out of dur,
For drede of the Mastyffe cur—
For drede of the Butchers dogge
Wold wyrry them like an hogge.
For an' this cur do guar',
They must stand all afar
To hold up their hands at the bar;
For all their noble bloude,

¹ When the time came these pretensions were not forgotten, and among the charges preferred against the fallen statesman was that of having allowed himself to be addressed as "your majesty" by the University of Oxford, and even by the Doge of Venice.

² It was a part of Wolsey's tactics to keep the great families from the King's presence. The French ambassador informs his government that "there are not many nobles about the King, most of them keeping order in their own counties."—Du Bellay to the Grand Master of France, December 29, 1527.

WOLSEY AND THE NOBLES.

He plucks them by the hooche,
And shakes them by the ear,
And brings them in such feare.
He bayteth them like a beare ;
Like an ox or a bull.
Their wits he sayth are dull,
He sayth they have no brain
Their estate to maintain,
And maketh them to bow their knee
Before his majesty !”

A.D.
1525-1527

* * *

Never did the Cardinal display his arrogance in a more offensive form than in his official intercourse with those who had hitherto recognised no equal between the King and themselves, but who now waited in his antechamber and were content to receive the royal commands and favours filtered through the lips of the haughty minister.¹

Lord Percy was in his twenty-fifth year when he succeeded to the Earldom, yet Wolsey continued to

¹ Shrewsbury's chaplain informs his master, who had sent him with letters to the Cardinal, that he had followed his Grace from place to place, but was unable to obtain an audience for the purpose of presenting them.

“Upon Monday last, as he walked in the park at Hampton Court, I besoght hym I myght knowe if he wold comand me my servyce ; he was not pleased with me that I spake to hym. . . . He that shall be a sutor unto hym may have no oder besynes (business), but giff attendaunce upon his pleasure. . . . I sawe no better remedye but cam without answer, to pursue such yn London as your Lordship comands to be don, except I wold have done as my Lord Dacre's servaunt dothe, wiche com with letters for the Kynges Grace v. moneths sens, and yet have no aunswer ; and unoder servaunt of the Deputy of Callis, yn likewise, wiche cam before he rode to Walsingham. There that he answered them ‘If ye be not content to tary my leser, depart when ye wyll.’”
—*Talbot Papers*, vol. A. f. 45.

There would thus appear to have been no exaggeration in this passage of Skelton's satire :—

“My Lord is not at layser ;
Syr, ye must tarry a stounde
Tyll better layzer be founde ;
And, Syr, ye must dance attendaunce,
And tak patient sufferance,
Perchance half a yere,
And yet come not nere.”

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address him in such terms as a harsh pedagogue might employ towards an idle or ill-conducted schoolboy. There was no interference which he did not permit himself, no humiliation he hesitated to inflict upon one who certainly gave no cause for jealousy or resentment; for throughout their intercourse, the submissive temper of the noble is hardly less marked than the arrogance of the priest. The Peers of England had become used to the censorious interference of the powerful minister in all that related to their public duties; but in this case Wolsey went much further, extending his control over the most trifling details of domestic economy and personal conduct. He claimed the right to regulate the Earl's household patronage; he gave direct instructions to his officers and agents; received secret reports and complaints from his servants, and even threatened to take the administration of the estates into his own hands.

Constitutional apathy, aggravated by continuous physical suffering from the effects of a complication of disorders which often incapacitated him from the transaction of public business, and more than once threatened a fatal termination, no doubt contributed to indispose the young Earl from contesting the Cardinal's exorbitant pretensions. How keenly he felt the indignity is, however, evidenced in his private correspondence, and more especially in his letters to his intimate friend and kinsman, Thomas Arundel.*

* A younger brother of William Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel (Northumberland's brother-in-law), who, in accordance with a common practice, had adopted the titular instead of the family name:

“By my father Arundell, even so my name hight;
A younger brother I was by due generation,
And with the Cardinal Wolsey was my education.”

—*Metrical Visions*, by George Cavendish.

He and Lord Percy had been brought up together in Wolsey's house

ALLEGED WASTEFULNESS.

In one of these letters, written two days after his father's death, he thus refers to Wolsey having prohibited him from attending the funeral:—

"Before Ambrose came unto me, I was comyn unto my howse at Topclyf towarde y^e funeralls of my late lorde and fader, whose soul J'hu pardon; . . . but seeing I knowe my Lords Grace's pleasor contrary, I woll not com to y^e funeralls to Beverly, y^e whiche to have bene at I wolde have bene very glade. . . .

"Sense the weke after Estre, I have bene in jeoptie (jeopardy) of my lyve, not only by reason of an agoor (ague), but also of myn olde disease and the unhappy ayer of this North Country; having none amendement unto the tyne I cam to Topclyf, where somethyng I nowe doo amende."

Wolsey frequently censured the Earl for extravagance and wastefulness, and appears to have suborned some of his servants to keep him informed of the state of his finances, which throughout his unhappy life continued the cause of much trouble to him. The blame for this however did not lie at his door. By far the greater part of the debts that weighed upon him had been an inheritance from his father, who at his decease owed over £7000 to private individuals, and arrearages amounting to more than £10,000 to the crown.¹ Lord Percy had always been very sparsely provided for by the

hold, in which he now held the office of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Later in life he rose high in court favour, but becoming implicated in the intrigues of the Protector Somerset, he was executed for treason.

His correspondence with the Earl of Northumberland from 1527 to 1530 will be found in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*—Singer's Edition. There is also an incomplete MS. copy of the series, annotated by Dr. Percy, among the Alnwick MSS. As these letters are with few exceptions written by a secretary, the Earl is not responsible for the curiously capricious spelling; the signature is in every case his own.

¹ The particulars of the Claim thus made against the estate of

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magnificent Earl. A memorandum has been preserved,¹ which shows how little he had been permitted to share in his father's style of living, and upon what modest terms he was required to maintain his establishment during the first years of his married life. From this document we learn that the cost of the personal subsistence of the young couple was estimated at 13s. 4d. a week; they were allowed two male and two female attendants, whose board and wages averaged eighteen pence a week each; while the charge for their joint stable did not amount to £28 in the year, and "My lady's wardrobe was "by estimacion" valued at £40."

That under such conditions the future Earl of Northumberland should have incurred debts is not surprising;² but at the time of his accession these did not exceed £1,000, while those of his father, for which he became responsible, amounted to £17,000. By nature indolent, he was probably careless in monetary affairs; but it is

the fifth Earl by the Chancellor of the Exchequer remain on record:

"For the fifth Earl of Northumberland's			
Ward and marriage of the daughter of			
Sir John Thwayths	...	...	£ 66 13 4
"For his debt to Anthony Bonvyse...	...	...	8062 9 6
"For the redemption of the Manor of Poynings	}	...	1604 0 0
& other manors in Sussex, from Sir			
Edward Seymour	...	...	...
"For livery payable by the sixth Earl	...	...	316 13 4
			<u>£10,049 16 2</u>

—*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. 394-5.

This claim was not wholly satisfied by the sixth Earl until 1531, when, the Chancellor Cromwell being ordered to take action against him for its recovery, he raised the requisite sum by mortgage, and by the sale of his estates in Kent.

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. No. 3378.

² A bond has been preserved bearing Lord Percy's signature, and dated 21 March 1525, under which he makes over to John Coupland, Merchant Taylor of London, with reversion to his wife and son, an estate of £10 a year during his father's life, and £20 a year after his accession, in consideration of goods supplied to him.—*Ibid.*

difficult to believe that the financial embarrassments which beset him from the outset of his career were due to prodigality or self-indulgence on his part,¹ or that the by-name of *the Unthrifty* was justly attached to him.

The Earl was well aware of the subornation of his servants habitually practised by Wolsey, and he more than once complained of it in his letters to Thomas Arundel.

"Myne owne good bedfellow,"² he writes, "thys Saterday at XII off the clock at mydnyght, I reseveyd yr. loveyng and kind advertisements, thereby not onely well perseyvng the true hart in old tyme which ye have borne to me, but also y^e perseverant good mind off y^e sayme by whiche daly you do renue myne old bond of amyte which in hart cannot be more then yt ys, as yt ys bounden.

"Also I perseyff y^t som Judas abowth me, notwithstanding my goodness to all my servaunts, hayth serteffyed my Lords Grace off my dettes. I assure you, bedfellow, y^t which I do how, (owe) both ffor my lord my ffayther and myselfe, ys but that som of VI M. marks; ffor whiche I trust I hayve takin such dereckcion as ys to myn honour, notwithstanding the practices off my servant thus to defame his master; praying you, good bedfellow, I may know who he ys, as my trust ys in you abouff all others. . . . My hows, sens my coming ether, (hither) hayth bene very costly,

¹ He appears to have been very generous to his brothers. His charities and his grants to his numerous dependents were also all on a very liberal scale; but there is no indication of personal extravagance on his part. Indeed, his tastes and habits seem to have been exceptionally simple for one of his rank at the period, and, according to a passage in Denton's MS., it was not upon his own pleasures but in donations to others that "he wasted his patrimony with gifts and leases of manors, lordships, parks, &c., reserving small rents."

² A term then frequently used between intimate friends, and the more appropriate, in this instance, from the fact of the Earl and Thomas Arundel having in their boyhood shared the same chamber in Wolsey's Palace.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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1502-1537

(notwithstanding ther ys not a penny howing ffor the sayme,) and specyally by reson of derness off corne, for every quarter woll well cost iiiii schill^{res}. And whereas y^t Judas wrote I could not serve the Kyng yff my lord Cardenall dyd nott tak some order with me, I trust my lord, upon the infermacion off such a lyght person, wyll not take nor follow no such ways as may pluk my poure hart ffrom him, ponddering watt servis I may do him. And for my poure wytt, thow myne experiens be but small, I dar be jugyd by the judges, y^t wher here with me in the kyngs courts.¹ I pray yow, bedfellow, how this ys takyn, I may be serteffyd. In heart pondering the ffalsayd (falsehood) of myne owne servants, I am not therwyth a lytyll trubellyd; ffor bycause Judas betrayd Christ, beyng his servant, the payne was more grevous. Sertyne secret comunycacion was betwene by lord Cardenall and my tresorere, y^e which as yet I can not serteffy you the trueth off; but I do extemthys was a part ther off; but ever truth shall try hymselff and better by your helpe. More wold I wryt, but my syknes and my troubled mynd will not suffer me. . . ."

The servant whom Wolsey had taken into his confidence proved to be one William Worme, for whose surrender the Earl offered the Cardinal the handsome bribe of £300.

"Yff my Lords Grace wyll be so good Lord unto me, as to gyff me lychens (licence) to put Wyllm. Worme within a castell of myne off Alnwyk in assurdy, unto the tyme he have accomptyd ffor more money recd. than ever I recd., I shall gyff his Grace iiC.^{li} (£200) and a Benyffiss off a C. worth unto his colleyg;²

¹ From this passage it would appear that the Earl's servant had represented him as being incapable of managing his affairs, and that Wolsey, acting upon such information, had threatened to "take order" with him.

² Wolsey's newly-founded college at Oxford, originally called Cardinal's College—now Christ Church.

with such other thynges resservyd as his Grace shall desyre. . . ."¹

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1527-1528

The Cardinal, however, appears to have resolved upon carrying out his threat to take the management of the Earl's affairs into his own hands, to which end he appointed a Mr. Manning to proceed to the north as his agent and receiver. Here, however, the Earl's submission came to an end.

"YE news off Mr. Manyng," he writes to Arundel, "ys blone abroad over all Yorksher; y^t neyther by y^e Kyng nor by my Lord Cardenall I am regardyd; and y^t he wyll tell me (so) at my metyng with hym, when I come unto Yorksher; which shall be within thys month, God willing; *but I ffer (fear) my words to Mr. Manyng shall displeas my Lord, ffor I wyll be no Ward.*"

He proceeds to say that since "ye payns I tayk and have taykin sens my comyng heyther, are not better regardyd . . . I wyll never occupy thys Rom^{off} the Kyng, to dy for it, longer than my comyng up;² but trust me *to serve God as well as I have done ye Worlde trustyng to ffinde a better Reward ther,*³ and be more able to do ffor my ffrends."

The Earl's spirit had been roused at last, and, as

¹ "I know not whether the above offer was accepted, or the said William Worme committed to durance in Alnwick Castle: but there is a tradition in the place, that an Auditor was formerly confined in the Dungeon under one of the Towers, till he could make up his Accounts to his Lord's satisfaction."—Note by Dr. Thomas Percy, *Alnwick MSS.* Can it be that the "Auditor's Tower" at Alnwick Castle owes its name to this tradition?

² The meaning of this passage seems to be that, being thus ill-used, he would not continue to hold office under the King (probably in reference to the Lord Wardenship) at the risk of his life from the effects of the harsh climate (the air of the north having always proved very trying to him), and that on his "comyng up" to town he would resign his post.

³ There is a curious coincidence between these words and those which Wolsey is said to have addressed to Cromwell on his fall from power less than two years later.

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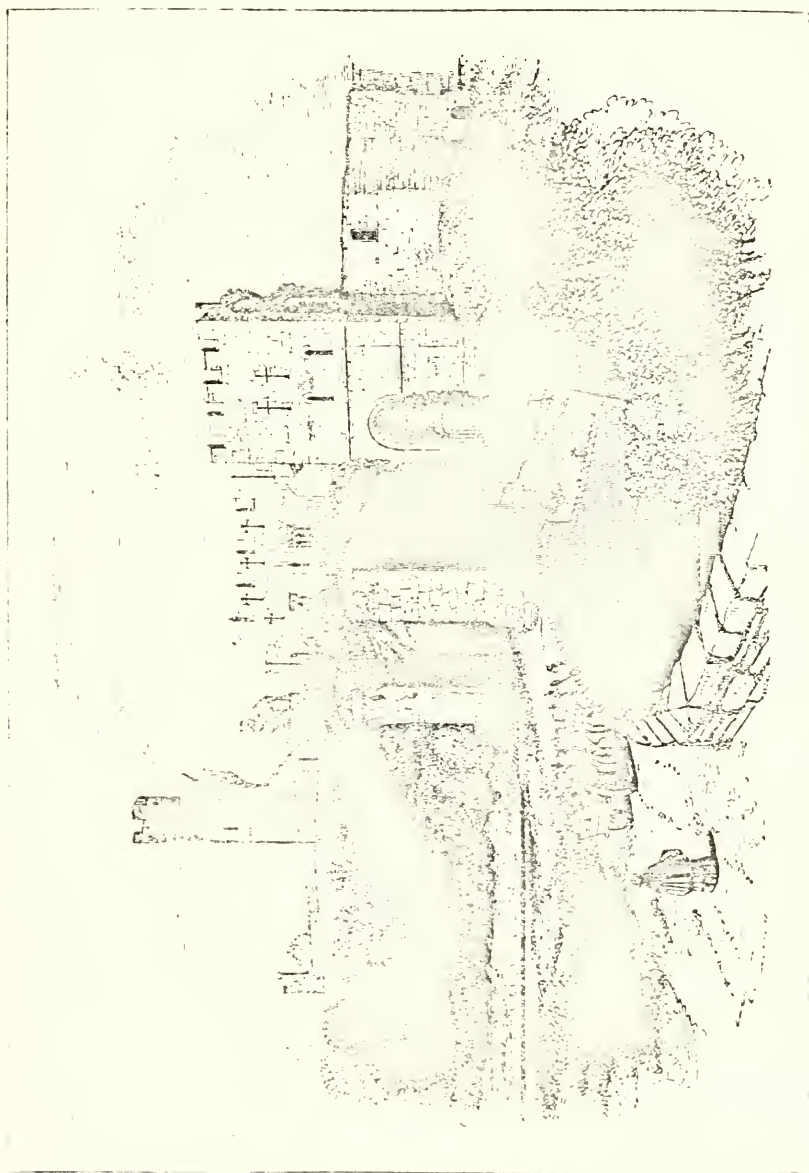
we hear nothing more of Mr. Manning, it may be assumed that Wolsey, feeling that he had gone too far, prudently resolved to hold his hand. He did not however relinquish his claim to the costly chapel ornaments and books which the late Earl had collected.

"I do perseaff my Lord Cardenalls pleasour ys to have such Boks as was in the Chapell of my lat lord and ffayther, (wos soll J'hu pardon) To the accomplyshement of which at your desyer I am confformable, notwithstanding I trust to be able ons to set up a Chapel off myne owne. . . I shall with all sped send up your Lettrs. with the Books unto my Lords Grace, as to say iiii Anteffonars,¹ such as I thynk wher nat seen a gret wyll; v Gralls;² an Ordeorly; a Manuall; viij Prossessioners. And ffor all the ressidew, they not worth the sending, nor ever was occupyed in my Lord's Chapel."

From his subsequent letters to Arundel, however, it would appear that Wolsey's persecuting spirit soon revived. In one of these, having been informed that but for the Cardinal's illness he would have "reseyyvd letters from my Lord Legate lovyngly," Lord Percy expresses his surprise considering "y^t in thys country yt ys opynly sayd y^t he lovys me not, and y^t he wyll awdett my stewards, Roger Eyssells and Thomas Johnson, (so) y^t all others will take example by theirs; and also put a governor to me, off which I would be very loth y^t his Grace should attempt any such things agenst me, ponderyng the hart and servys I have borne ever unto hym unffieinedly. But I put my trust in God, and les doth regard y^e surety of y^e worlde than ever I dyd. . . . And thus ffir you well

¹ *Antiphonarium*—the book containing the Antiphons, Responsories, etc., often very elaborately illuminated, and with the binding studded with precious stones.

² *Grail*—the Choir Book containing the *gradales*, or anthems after the Epistle.



FRUITHOPE CASTLE.

DOMESTIC TROUBLES.

myne owne bedfellow, and I pray God gyff my Lord Cardenall grace y^t he mayk not all Englund spek off hym and me." A.D. 1528

In June 1528 he writes :

"And soo it is, that daily moore and moore it pleaseth God to visit me with myn old disease ; by reason whereof I am very casuaill and uncertayne of my Lyf. And, as yet I have not maide nor furnyshed no Will, for myne owne soule, and for the well of thoes that will come after me, I desire and hartily pray you to move my Lord's Grace to procure Maister Broke, Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, after hys terme and his Circuit fynished, to take the payne to come down unto me for the perseyting of my Will ; for I have wryton unto Maister Broke desyring hym for the same ; and nowe have lyen this sennet at my Castell of Prowdehowe, within v mile of Tyndall, to see good orders to be kept, the which nowe, thanks be to Godde, is well kept in this contrey."

* * *

The poor Earl's manifold troubles were aggravated by the state of his domestic relations. It would indeed have been surprising if his alliance with Lord Shrewsbury's daughter, which had taken place in 1524,¹ had contributed to the happiness of either ; his own affections having then been deeply engaged to another woman, and the Lady Mary Talbot's disinclination to her proposed husband having only yielded to the stern exercise of paternal authority. They had been more than four years married before there was any prospect of offspring, and in April 1529 the Earl writes to Arundel :

"So yt ys my wyff is brod to bed off a chyld ded, and as I have word from my Lord Steward and them

¹ See *Additional MSS.* 24965, vol. 106, British Museum. Cavendish says : "Little ceremony and probably no little haste was used in patching up these nuptials. As might be expected, they were most unhappy."

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abowth her,¹ she look for non other but deth, and yff she escap y^e ffechysions, (physicians) wryt plain she cannot continew."

* * *

The Warden Generalship of the Northern Marches, now more than ever an ungrateful office in consequence of Wolsey's offensive interference in all its details, involved, not only much responsibility and labour, but, such expenses as only a few of the great nobles could bear.² The Earl of Northumberland's precarious health, as well as the state of his finances, might well have justified him in declining to subject himself to so heavy a burden; but his zeal in the King's service would not allow him to refuse when, shortly after his accession, the post was tendered him by Wolsey,³ to whom he returned thanks "ffor y^r perseveraunt nobleness to me at oftymes shewyd, and now in the augmentation of y^e same ffor whych, reservyng my duty unto y^e Kyng's Hyghness, y^r Grace shall be assuryd of my hart and servys."⁴

His demand for special instructions to meet various contingencies incident to the office shows, however, his misgivings as to his capability to fulfil the duties to the satisfaction of his harsh task master.⁵

Never had the borders been in a more disturbed state,⁶

¹ From this passage it would appear that Lady Northumberland was at this time already living apart from her husband.

² The salary which in former times had been £5,000 a year, had in the previous reign been reduced to £1,000, nearly one half of which was absorbed by fees payable to deputy wardens or inferior officers. For a list of these see Appendix XLVII.

³ He was at the same time appointed Bailiff of Tyndale and Steward of the Manor of Holderness (formerly in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham) with an annual rental of £20.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. No. 3630.

⁵ See Appendix XLVIII.

⁶ "As tochyng the order of the Bordures the thefes of boothe sydes never did steale so faste; If there be not a stay in it shortlye I fere me it shall be past making of redres; for the Kyng's Company doth robbe and spoyle all of theym that belongeth to the Earl of Anguish.

THE EARL OF ANGUS.

A.D. 1528

for King James, though professedly friendly to England, was too much engaged in suppressing domestic dissensions to be able to restrain his lawless subjects in their depredations upon English territory.¹

The Earl of Angus, the leader of the principal Scottish faction, was already seeking an alliance with England against the Duke of Albany and, in December, writes to congratulate Northumberland upon having come to the borders, expressing a hope that in consideration of the great amity between their ancestors their friendship will continue. At the same time he suggests a personal meeting for the conclusion of terms between them, which the Earl, however, declined to accede to without the sanction of the King of England.

Early in the following January,² Northumberland reports having held a Warden court at Alnwick when he beheaded nine, and hanged five men for march-treason and felony. A week later he made proclamation, requiring all fugitives from justice to submit themselves to the King's mercy upon pain of "the dreadful sentence of the Church," which they would else incur, in addition to the fate that awaited them at his hands; as he would

(Angus) and the Earl Iykewyse, and his frendes, doth robb and spoyle all theyme that takes the Kynges part . . . by reason whereof the Bordures of both sydes takith all that they may geet."—Sir Roger Lassells to Earl of Northumberland, August 29, 1528 (*Cotton MSS.*) The gentlemen of Northumberland were among the principal offenders on the English side, and formed a considerable majority of the sixteen persons executed at York assizes in this year; among them are Fenwicks, Shaftos, and Headleys.

¹ In June, 1528, the King of Scotland wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, excusing himself from furnishing a force to join the English in an expedition for subduing the rebels on the borders, in consequence of "the disturbances in the inland of our realm."—*State Papers Dom.* Henry VIII.

² In this year the Earl's name is included in the list of thirteen noblemen upon whom the King conferred New Year's gifts, and each of whom received from twenty to thirty ounces of silver plate.—*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. 3748.

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hang upon boughs every outlaw apprehended, besides destroying their houses, and sending their wives and children into strange regions.

These measures seem to have been successful, for he informs the King shortly after, that having overtaken and slain one notorious offender, William Charleton of Shotlyngton, "the hyed rebell off all the Howthlawes," and captured four of his principal accomplices,¹ he had caused the latter to be hanged in chains at different places, by which he had inspired such terror that five hundred outlaws had surrendered, and "as yt was feryd among the other rebelles that I wolde have mayd a royd upon them in short spas, William Lysle,² Homfrey hys sone, with fiftene others of the rebellous personages, as I was comyng from Mass on Sonday last, they mett me in their Sherttes, with halters abowte their nekkes, and submytted themselffes with howth ony maner of condicion unto your most gracious Hyghnes off your tender and prettius marcy; orels they wer redy to byde the execucion

¹ In a letter to Wolsey the Earl gives a detailed account of the capture of these culprits, describing how they, having made a raid into Wolsyngham and carried off a priest, besides on their return homeward "robbing and spoyling six pore men's howses," he ordered "a screy" and pursuit, and the Tyne being too much swollen to allow of their fording it he had caused "Aidem Bridge (Heydon-bridge) to be locked faste so they could not passe with their horses." One of the Earl's tenants, Thomas Errington, gave chase with a sleuth hound and succeeded in overtaking and slaying Charleton and taking several prisoners, all of whom, dead or living, were "hanged in chainss uppon a paire of gallowes for terrible example of semblable offenders."—Northumberland to Wolsey, January 28, 1528 (*Cotton MSS.* Calig. b. vii. 112).

² Sir William Lysle, a Northumbrian knight who, as Wolsey informed the King, having "been committed to ward at Newcastle as well for murder and felonye, as for diverse other grevouse offences," (not the least grevouse of which probably was that of having publicly threatened to "pluck the Cardinal by the noose"), subsequently broke prison and joined the outlaws on the Scottish border. The French ambassador writes: "The Earl of Northumberland has gone against the banished man Sir William Lisle who has done much mischief. I feare he (the Earl) is terribly young and little experienced in arms."—Du Bellay to the Grand Master of France, December 26, 1527.

BORDER OUTRAGES.

off your Graces most dredful laws accordyng unto ther demerythes; whyche persons I stryghtway comytted unto prisons within my power Castell of Alneywyk, for the sayf keeping off them unto such tyme as I may knowe further off your most gracious Hyghnes pleasouer. The whyche knowen, I shall indeavour myselffe accordyng unto my most bounden duty to the accompychment of the sayme, with howth affection, favour, mede or dred of any person.”¹ A.D. 1528

Some weeks later the Earl informs Thomas Arundel that the King had required him to name the persons who had most materially contributed to the capture of Lisle and his accomplices, with a view to the distribution among them of £100. He accordingly states that, “There ys none that over comyng these Rebels hath doune to the Kyng any hyher service than Sir Thomas Tempest and Bowes by their counseil, and my Lord Clifford, my cousin Wyddrinton and Sir John Delevall with others, my household servaunts, who tooke and slew all those that was taken without any grete helpe of any gentlemen of the Countrey. 5 March

“And yf it pleas my Lord Grace to be so goode Lorde unto me, he may do me marvellous pleasour in a litile valour (value); for it is so that Sir William Lysle hath a litile house called Felton, of the yearly value of twenty marks and no more, the whyche joyneth uppon all my parkes that I have in Northumberlande, and hath bene the destruccion of all my game ther, ever at all tymes. And whoso lyeth there, yf they be not my friendes, they may ever do grete herte in destruccion of my said game. Wherefore, yf yt wolde pleas my Lord’s Hyghnes for me, I were much bounde unto his grace. As for Sir William Ewers, I assure you he hath doone no goode; he durst

¹ Northumberland to King Henry VIII. January 28, 1528.—From *Letters to King and Council, Chapter House*, vol. iii. 50.

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not go out of the Castell of Harbottell all the tyme I have been lyving here, without I shuld have gone with hym myself. Who now cometh uppe, and if the Kyng should reward hym, it wold be an euill example to all other in the country here."¹

We now meet with another illustration of Wolsey's jealous and imperious temper. The Earl had asked some personal friends at court to intercede with the King for the lives of certain of his prisoners, and at the same time prayed Wolsey that, since he desired that William Lisle and his son should be attainted and executed, in order that the King might be benefited by the forfeiture of their lands, he might be joined by the justices of assize at York for the trial of these men, being himself little conversant with the law of attainder.²

The appeal to the royal clemency without his intervention, and the scruples to try men for their lives without legal aid, were alike offensive to the Cardinal, who writes:

"Albeit by your letters to me addressed you surmised that you could not proceed to the execution of the King's letters, for as much as your counsel could not ascertain you what order should be taken with such as should be attainted and arraigned of treason, desiring therefore that that matter might be respited till the coming down of some of the King's Justices; yet if the said delay proceeded of that ground chiefly, it shall be right well done that you do what you consider, but you should not use such 'cautellous' and colorable dealing with one that thus tenderly hath brought you up, and set you forward, and *by whose only means the King hath put you in such authority.* I know the

¹ *Original State Papers, Record Office.* In the *Calendar* this letter is erroneously placed under date of the year 1535.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol iv. 3967.

whole drift and discourse of your privy suits and dealing. . . . *You have not answered to mine expectation; . . . and for the sparing of putting to execution of Sir Will^m Lysle's elder son if it should not embolden other men under your rule to offend . . . it should be much more to my contentation, that he should live than die, quia non cupio mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.*¹ Wherefore the King's pleasure is that you shall in safe custody send hither to the Tower of London the said Sir Willm Lysle's eldest son, there to be kept and further indicted as shall stand with the King's pleasure; and as touching the execution of the father and the other offenders, the Kings pleasure is that with diligence you shall perform the contents of his Grace's and my letters directed unto you. And thus fare ye well. From Hampton Court, this 17th March [1528]."²

A.D. 1528

To the severe and unmerited censure conveyed in this communication the Earl replies as follows :

"Pleaseth it your good Grace to be advertised; I have received your gracious letters dated at your mansion of Hampton Court the xvijth day of this month, which be to me marvellous joy in that I perceive your Grace, like my most singular good and gracious Lord, doth of your great goodness warn me so graciously to be well aware of the thing that your Grace thought was in me; but on the other side your gracious letters have been as much to my heaviness as any thing that ever chanced unto me, seeing that any thing should be done with my willing commandment or thought that should lead your Grace to think in me that which is written in your

¹ It is startling to find even the arrogant Cardinal appropriating to himself the sentiment expressed in those beautiful words.

² From a draft letter in Wolsey's own hand.—*Cotton MSS.*, Appendix to Correspondence of Henry VIII., fol. 13. The spelling of this and of the following letters renders them in part so unintelligible that it has been modernised.

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said letter. For, my good and gracious Lord, if ever I so much as thought in this matter of William Lisle and his fellows to make any labour to any person living but to your Grace, and by your means, I beseech your Grace never to be my good and gracious lord, and that I would not for all the land and goods I have in this world. I sent unto my Lord (the Bishop) of London and wrote to M^r. Tuke to move your Grace and none other to save some of their lives, which I take God to record, was for no particular profit or affection, but because I might be the more able to serve the King's Highness without danger; seeing how William Lysle is 'kynyd' and allied off the borders amongst them that I must need put my lyfe in trust with many times (if I serve the King's Grace in this office). If any thing have been further done, I assure your Grace, on the fayth truth and service I bear to the King's Highness and your Grace, that is no more to my knowledge, nor by my commandment will or mind, than was the death of Christ done by the Jews.

"For though I have little wit, and as little experience as any man, yet I am not I trust so mad or unhappy, but that I know how much your grace hath done for me, and in a much greater matter than this is, do trust I should not need to seek by-ways, as long as I have your good Grace to my help and chief comfort, next God and the King in this world; and therefore I most humbly and *on my knes* beseech your Grace, for the reverence of Almighty God, never to think this thing of me, and to comfort me with your gracious letters, or else the sorrow therof may happen (now the truth is manifested unto your Grace and known) be the occasion of that which your Grace would be sorry of, that is to shorten my days; the which, in very deed, I esteem not to be of very long continuance; as since the receipt of yo^r Grace's

MAKING AMENDS.

letters what case I have been in, my servant, this bearer, can show your Grace if you swear him upon a book. For I assure your Grace I can not write how it doth grieve me, that your Grace should mistrust me in that which I never offended in, pondering that as I am most bounden next the Kyng, I bear toward your Grace my hart and service, and ever shall, were I to die therefore, what so ever malice shall report. Since my coming hither, which was the first Monday of Lent, I have lain here with cc. persons with me, and the prisoners, ever ready to have put them to execution upon the coming of a judge, as our Lord knoweth, who preserve your Grace with long life, and as much increase of honour as your most noble heart can desire. At the King's town of Newcastell the xxiiijth day of March with the rude hand of

A.D. 1528
—

“Your most bounden true and

“faithful servant

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

A week later the Earl seeks to make further amends for his indulgence in merciful instincts :

“I have now, according to the King's laws, justly proceeded against William Lisle and his other accomplices remaining with me in prison in several wise, by the advice of the said Justices, that all the lands and tenements of the said William Lisle should be the more surely and indefensibly entitled to the Kinges use, and, for the more terrible and dreadful example of all the inhabitants in these parts, William Lisle, Humfrey Lisle, his son, John Ogle, William Shenstone and Thomas Fenwick, gentlemen of name, chief leaders and most heynous offenders of all the saide rebels, were according

¹ *Cotton MSS. Caligula, b. ii. 255.*

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to their demerits attainted of high treason; and by me had judgement given to be hanged drawn and quartered, the execution whereof was accomplished upon them accordingly; only reserving Humfrey Lisle,¹ whom, according to the pleasure of the King and your Grace, I have sent by this bearer, John Norton, my servant, to be further ordered as shall stand with your Grace's pleasure. . . ."²

Even the exacting Cardinal appears to have been satisfied with the humility of this explanation and apology, for the Earl's next letter is couched in terms of gratitude and affection for the gracious favour shown to him:

"Pleaseth it your good Grace to be advised; I have received your most honorable letters, written with your most gracious hand, perceiving thereby your Grace, like my most singular good and gracious lord, doth not only of your great goodness toward me admonish me of the faults by your Grace in me esteemed, but also doth comfort my sorowfull heart in that which it doth please your Grace to write unto me, your most humble and assured servant, with your most gracious hand so kindly; assuring your Grace that my poor heart can not think, nor pen write, how much I esteeme me bounden unto your Grace, whom I ever do and shall reckon my chief refuge, next God and the King. Wherefore not only in excusing the fault by your Grace in me esteemed, but also the occacion of any jealousy toward the same, I do

¹ There is a curious autograph letter from the King's receiver, Bryan Tuke (one of the persons whose intercession Northumberland had claimed in the case), pleading for the life of this Humfrey, a boy of thirteen, with the cardinal.—See *Wolsey Correspondence*, vol. xii. No. 56. While in prison after Sir William Lysle's execution this Humfrey made a deposition charging his father with having, within his experience, been directly implicated in no less than five different acts of murder, robbery, or arson.—*State Papers, Scotland, Chapter House*, p. 593.

² Earl of Northumberland to Cardinal Wolsey, 2nd April, 1528.—*Cotton MSS. Calig. b. iii.* 146.

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

promise your Grace I *shall never write to no man of honor within the court of any matter, but I shall send unto your Grace the copy of the same letters*, accompting myself now, by these your most gracious letters unto me, (not with standing I was so much bounden to your Grace afore for your gracious goodness showed unto me in my bringing up) so obliged, that I shall never be able to do your Grace the service that I am bounden to do . . . but will spend my hearts blood in your service, of which, as he that is your Grace handiwork, your good grace shall be assured. . . . Most humbly beseeching your Grace to pardon me for not any (sooner) writing unto the same ; for not only with mine old disease, but also with an extreme ague, (as to all the country is not unknown) I was so vexed, that rather I was likely to die than live, and as yet but very hardly recovered as our Lord knoweth. . . . At Awnwyke the xxvjth day of April with the rude hand of

A.D. 1528

“Your most humble and

“bounden servant

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

Neither physical infirmities nor domestic troubles affected the Earl's efficiency in the public service, although the distracted state of Scotland and the borders, the

¹ Abstracts of this and the preceding Letters will be found in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. Nos. 4082, 4093, 4133, and 5497. About the same time the Earl writes to Arundel (whom he had recently appointed Commissioner of his Woods and Forests in Somerset and Dorset, and to whom he had granted an annuity of £60 a year, charged on his Devon estates): “Yt pleasyd God to vessytt me wth syknes; not only myne old deses, but also a swelling off my stomack, with an extrem agoo; not estemyng in myne owne mynd to have seyn yow again, orels to have trowbelyd you with thes, my rud lettres.” Some time later he informed Mr. Tuke, the King's Treasurer of the Chamber, that he had had the last Sacrament administered to him in expectation of his death.

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turbulence and lawlessness of the population under his jurisdiction, together with the exorbitant demands made by Wolsey upon his private resources, might severely have tasked the powers of a stronger man.

He personally led several expeditions across the frontier in retaliation for depredations committed by the Scots, and when the King acknowledged these services in his cause by a gracious letter of thanks, the Earl humbly attributed his success, after God, to the wise instructions given to him by the Lord Cardinal :

“When it hath pleased your Highness, by your most honored letters to me directed, of your great nobility and not of my deserts, to give me thanks for my little service done in these partes unto your Grace, according unto my most bounden duty, most humbly and lowly I beseech your Highness not to deem this, my poor service, to proceed of me, or by my compass, notwithstanding my good will ; but most principally of Almighty God, which as he hath ever done hath put unto your subjection and obedience yon traitorous and rebellious (persons) to be justified according to your laws by me, your poorest and lest expert subject ; whereby openly may appear the great zeal that the Godhead beareth unto your Highness in all your gracious affairs ; and secondly, that which by me, your poor subject, hath been brought to any good conclusion, was chiefly by the instructions of my Lord Legate given unto me, and by me followed according to my duty.”¹

The Earl of Angus with a large following was at this time openly in arms against his sovereign, who had banished him from his realm and threatened him with attainder and confiscation of his lands ; as the only means of averting which he now sought an alliance with England,

¹ Earl of Northumberland to King Henry VIII., April 12, 1528.—*Cotton MSS. Calig. b. vii. 12.*

KING JAMES THE FIFTH.

A.D. 1528

and had claimed Northumberland's hospitality. The distracted state of Scotland, in which the young King and his immediate party—the Queen Mother, the Duke of Albany and Angus, with other malcontent nobles—were contending for the mastery, is illustrated by the following letter:—

“ Pleasith your good Lordship to be advertysed of the variance between the Kyng of Scotts and the Erle of Angois. Upon Wednesday at none, that last was, Archibald Douglas was at Edinburgh, and with hym all the householde servants of th'erle of Angois, th'Abbot of Hoolyoodhowse and George Douglas with theym; and as the said Archibald was at dynner, comyth in Lord Maxwell, or ever he wish, ande with a small company of men clapped about the howse; and Archibald and his men was scalyed (scattered) in the toune, so that they couth nevir be gotten togedir, and so ther was Archibald and hys men fayne to get theym away on horsbake, so that there was fewe or non takyn but horssees, and to be all banished from Edenburghe, and ther frendes fall all from theym Th'erle is in Tentallen, and hath sent th'Abbot of Hoolyoodhowse to me to know whether they may be resett (received) at Northumberland or nay; for they suppose verily that you knowe that it is the Kynges pleasour, and my Lorde Cardynalls, that they shall be reseted, and that your Lordship is so ascertyned. And therein they desyred me so soore, that I told theym I should assigne theym a chamber in the outwarde warde, tyll I knewe your Lordships plesour; for I looke daily when they shall come to me, for of verry trouth they may not tarry in Scotland. And the Lord of Buckleogh should have taken the toune with the Lord Maxwell, and he came at night and the Kynge entered into the toune either on Tuesday or on Saturday, and they are commonynge who shall have their landes, and so at

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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this parliament he shall be attainted both bloode and lande." ¹

Henry VIII. bore little love to his Scottish nephew, and secretly countenanced and encouraged his rebellious subjects, and more especially Angus, whose restoration to favour he made one of the conditions of a treaty of peace.

Northumberland reports, however, that—

"The Kynge of Scottes doth regarde the Kynge's Highnes letter and your graces verry smoll, when he hath indyted him cheifly for adhering hymselfe with Englande . . . and doth maintayne all the theues uppon the borders; and when I doo wryte to hym for dewe redresse he gyveth aunsware at all tymes to my servante that he cannot believe that they do such offence."

He adds that there is reason to believe that James meditates an attack upon Norham Castle, under pretence of pursuing Angus, but, "I shall be nyghe unto your said Castell with the power of Northumberland to withstande his purpose, as ferr as in me shall lye, yff he be aboutward to attempt anye such malice." ² In the meantime, the Lord Warden was in constant communication with the Scottish king, principally with a view to the redress of grievances, ³ but partly for the conclusion of one of

¹ Sir Roger Lassell to Earl of Northumberland, Norham Castle, August 29, 1528.—*Cotton MSS.* Calig. b. iii. 289.

² Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, September 22, 1528.—*Wolsey Correspondence*, part i. 117.

³ While complaining of repeated outrages on the part of the Scots, he boasts that, under his rule, "the County of Northumberland, for the acts done by ony Inglish men, I suppose was never in such stayt as it is now; and noo cryme now commytted nawther by gentlemen nor non other contrary to the lawes of Wardenry and Justice, but they be sharply corrected."—Northumberland to Wolsey, October 28, *Cotton MSS.* Calig. b. vi. 459. This statement is not, however, borne out by the impartial evidence of Magnus, King Henry's Commissioner in the north, who informs the Cardinal that "there is, as farre as we can conceive, as grete or gretter redresse to be made by the partie in Inglande, as by the partie in Scotteland."—*S. P. Henry VIII.* vol. iv.

A ROYAL LETTER.

those ever pending and never enduring treaties of peace between the two countries. A.D. 1528

The following letter, dated October 5th, 1528, from James V. to "our rycht traist and holly lovit cousing, ye Erle of Northumbrelande, wardene of ye Est and Myddil Marcheis of England," is a curious specimen of royal correspondence in the sixteenth century :—

"Richt traist and weilbelovit cousing, we commend ws to you in all hertlie maner. Your letters off ye dait at Topcliff, ye 14 day of Septembro last bigone, beyinge ressavit by ws, we know and onderstandis yarby ye gud and kynd mynd ye beir anentes ws, our weilfair tranquillite and rest of our Realm. And quhar be certane writtingis sent to you be our derrest uncle, your soveranē, ye are movit to be advertist of ye terme and diet we wald war kepit, and of y^e plaice for y^e takyne and prorogacion of new trewis betuix ws and our said derrest uncle, and off y^e namis of y^e personagis quhame, we will send to trait and conclude y^e samyne. . . . Rycht traist cousing, we haiff send our Maister of Armes, Lyoun, to our derrest uncle, instrukit with writtingis contenant our mynd and desyris in y^{at} behalff at lenche . . . Quharfor we exhort you rycht tenderlie, that ye wil, eftir your greit and usit wisdome, suppress all opinione off commonis, bayth on Bordouris and oyer placis, fra beleiff of ony new motioun to be had betuix baithe y^e realms, for ony truble proceeding be y^e mishaving of Archibald, sometyme Erle of Angus, quhil y^e day of meting forsaid ; quhar na falt salbe fundin on our part for prorogacion of pease to be had ; and yarefter all faltes to be emended wyth Goddis grace, quha haiff you in keping."

Negotiation and fighting ever went hand in hand, in border diplomacy, and while the Commissioners

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig. b. vii. 149.*

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were discussing terms of peace, the Lord Warden was marshalling his forces in defence of Angus, who had now been taken under the acknowledged protection of the King of England.

"I maid generall proclamacions," writes the Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, "throughowte the countrye of Northumberland, that all men shuld be in a redyness vpon an howrs warnynge, for by cawse the Kynge of Scottes dyd rayse an army, to preserve therle of Angwyshe . . . Notwithstanding it was esteemed, and planly supposed under the color of the same, that he wolde invade these the Kynge's Marches under my rewle, for the defens I willed all men to be in redynes." . . . A few days later he acknowledges the Cardinal's orders, "that I should let the people slyp (if they soe will) with therle of Angwyshe, he being in grete necessitie; reserving alway that noither the Kynge's Highnes commandment, nor my pore advyse, shall be noted to be the occasion of the sayme. As for whyche I assur your grace that therle is too well belovyd in England, that very hard yt wold be (if I dyd my best) to withdrawe the Commons from rydinge with the said Erle, to hunt or damage the reulme of Scotland."¹

He does not, however, entirely trust in the good faith of his Scottish allies, for he adds:

"If it should fortune the said Erle to be dryven thyder (Norham) for socurs, there shall noo moo come within your Graces castell but the Erle, George Dowglas, and Archibald Dowglas, with 3 with theym, and noo moo; and they shall lye in the otter (outer) warde; and in noo wyse they shalbe maid prevey to any of the ynnere wardes withyn your Graces castell."

From the following letter to the Duke of Norfolk,

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, October 28, 1528.—*Cotton MSS. Calig. b. vii. 99.*

FAMILY FEUDS.

President of the Council of the North, we learn how complete the breach between the Earl of Northumberland and his wife had by this time become, although she was once more living under his roof—His brother-in-law, Lord Dacre, had never been other than unfriendly towards him,¹ and had now, as it appears, openly taken part with Lord Shrewsbury and his sister-in-law : A.D. 1528

“Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised that before my coming home, one Thirlkeld, servant to the Lord Dacre, was from him and his bedfellow with my wife, talking with her secretly a great space, after which her words anenst me might have been very well amended, for which and other her former dealing, to your Grace not unknown, I have put Edward Edgar my auditor, and Thomas Kelk with George Hodgson my servants, to see her entertained a great deal better than she hath deserved. Notwithstanding I will not suffer her to speak with none, to contrive more malicious acts against me. Nevertheless Rauff Leche, and one Sampson a priest, was sent from my Lord of Shrewsbury to speak with her, (and the answer of my servants unto them, your Grace shall perceive by their letter herinclosed, sent unto me,) with whom I spoke, My Lord of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clyfford being present, and Rauf Leche using these words : that my Lord his master, hearing his daughter to be in some agony did send him and his fellow to bring her his blessing and to speak with her, and was answered by my servant there, that it was my pleasure they should not so, desiring to know whether it was so or not.

“To whom I answered that her malicious purpose, so manifestly known unto them by her letters which they

¹ In a letter to Thomas Arundel (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. No. 4234) the Earl refers to the intrigues between Dacre and the Cardinal, and their secret interference against his authority, and threatens to resign the Lord Wardenship in consequence.

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were privy unto, and contrived as did appear by the counsel of my Lord her father, I could not be contented that he, or any from him, should speak with her to invent more malicious imaginations of untruth; being most sorry, that my Lord her father, therein regarding neither his own honor, nor the kindness of me, *which took nothing with his daughter*, should set forward that whiche should touch both mine honor and life. And if my Lord her father would make his excuse, that less he could not do, considering his duty to the King's Highness our sovereign Lord, than to make the said certificate, and that he thought his daughter not so entertained as he would, and she being in fear of poisoning, would send for her, I would send her unto him with a reasonable finding for eschewing of more inconvenience; for peremptorily, her acts so openly manifest, I would never come in her company as long as I lived; with which answer they departed. And whereas it is come unto my knowledge that the Lord Dacre should report that your Grace should send unto him to know whether my wife had the falling sickness or not, and to advertise you thereof, the which in case she were not infected with the same, that then you would take her part to the best that in you should lie, assuring your Grace the same to be not a little to my discomfort, pondering the speciall affiance and trust I have in your Grace.

"Also acquainting your Grace that all the Scots of Tyvidale that came to my hands I put them to death saving three, the order of which three, with all other occurrences in these parts, your Grace may perceive by the contents of the Kings Highness' letters herinclosed. beseeching your Grace, seeing that the garrisons shall be laid, and I appointed but cc. men in garrison of my Retinue, to call unto your remembrance that there was never Warden had less than five hundred men in his

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

own " Skrewe," wherof cc. with his own person and ccc. where the garrisons was limited to be. Trusting your Grace will help that I may have in like case as other wardens before hath had, and to be my Lord in all mine affairs as my confidence is in the same. Also your Grace shall receive herinclosed a copy of the proclamation which I caused to be proclaimed along the marches underneath my rule, the which as yet is as well observed as can be possible ; appearing thereby unto me they dread more the pain of money, than their lives. And thus the Holy Trinity have your Grace in his blessed governance. At my Castle of Warkeworth the iijth day of September."¹

A.D. 1528

The nominal head of the Council of the North at this time was Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond,² a boy in his tenth year, who was receiving his training under the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Magnus now reports to the Cardinal :

"Of late my Lorde of Northumberlande came hider to visit my saide Lorde's grace (Richmond), and made such speciall requeste sute and instaunce that he mought have my saide Lorde to see his house and manour of Topcliffe, that therupon they passed thider booth togeder ; where as my saide Lorde of Northumberland had my saide Lorde oone night, and dyd unto hym all the honor and pleasure he coulth in the mooste goudly and mooste humble maner. And I assure your grace, my Lorde of Richmond for his

¹ *Cotton MSS. Caligula, b. i. 127.*

² A natural son of Henry VIII. (by Elizabeth Blount, widow of Lord Talboys), for whom the king had a strong attachment, and whom in 1526 he created Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond, on which occasion the Earl of Northumberland officiated, "bearing the sword in the scabbard, the point garnished with the girdle."—*MS. MSS. 6, 113, f. 61.* He gave promise of considerable ability, but died in his eighteenth year, to the deep grief of his father, who had at one time contemplated claiming the sanction of Parliament to his succession to the crown.

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partye dyd use hymselfe not lyke a childe of his tender age, but moore like a man in all his behaviours, as well in communycacion as other, facioning everythinge to the beste purpose."¹

Time was when the chief of the Percies had ever free access to the person of his sovereign, and by prescriptive right claimed a seat in the Council Chamber. *Now* the Earl of Northumberland thus humbly petitions the Chancellor that :

"If it may stand with the King's Highness, and your most gracious pleasure, I may repair unto your presences, the which shall be my most comfort ; and that I may declare unto your Grace the state of these Borders ; the which, I put no doubt from, that your Grace shall have perfect knowledge of the same, and by your great and politic wisdom, your Grace shall devise and take such an order in these parts as shall be for the weal and politic ordering of the country, that ever after it shall remain in a marvellous and perfect state."²

In reply the Cardinal condescendingly granted this request, informing the King that he felt sure that the Earl, who had "put himself in the place of a son" to him, and promised always to act under his advice, would in time become more deserving of the royal favour, and prove "conformable to His Hyghness's pleesor in gvyng better attendaunce, leaving off his prodigality, sullenness mistrust disdayne and making of partis."³

Not the least of the many onerous duties devolving upon the Lord Warden was the reconciling of differences and patching up of quarrels among the northern nobles

¹ Magnus to Wolsey, October 7, 1528.—*Wolsey Correspondence*, vol. viii. part i. No. 9.

² Northumberland to Wolsey, Holograph, November 16, 1528.—*Cotton MSS. Calig. b. ii. 241*.

³ *Cotton MSS.* Appendix.

THE PLAGUE.

A.D. 1528

and gentlemen, who in the short intervals during which they had no foreign enemy to engage were commonly at war among themselves. The most turbulent of these was Northumberland's brother-in-law, Lord Dacre, whose feuds with the Earl of Cumberland had, as Magnus reports to the Cardinal, attained such proportions as not only to lead to "the inquieting of their servauntes, frendes and neighbours," but to subvert law and authority throughout the northern provinces, "wherfor your Grace shal doe a goode and blessed dede to sett some goode ordour betweene theym."¹

The Earl of Northumberland was accordingly commanded to arbitrate, and soon after sends Wolsey the award² under which the two nobles agree "to lay apart all grudges and be familier," Cumberland undertaking to pursue no further process against Dacre's tenants for riot, and Dacre foregoing his claims against his neighbours for hunting in his parks. From subsequent correspondence, however, it would appear that the quarrel was soon after renewed.

* * *

In this year the plague, or as it was called "the sweating sickness," raged with great virulence throughout the country. According to the French ambassador even the Court was not free from its ravages and a future Queen of England became an object of its attack.

"On Tuesday one of the Ladies of the Chamber, Mademoiselle de Boulan (Boleyn) was infected with the sweat, and the King in great haste dislodged, and went twelve miles hence,³ and I hear the lady was sent to her brother

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*

² *Cotton MSS.* Calig. b. vii. 11, and b. iii. 146. The award is in the Earl's handwriting.

³ It was on this occasion (June 16, 1528) that the King wrote the following, which is included in the published *Love Letters from Henry*

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the Viscount in Kent. This sweat which has made its appearance within these four days is a most perilous disease. One has a little pain in the head and heart ; suddenly a sweat begins, and a physician is useless ; for whether you wrap yourself up much or little in four hours, sometimes in two or three, you are despatched without languishing. Yesterday going to swear the truce we saw them, as thick as flies, rushing from the streets and shops into their houses to take the sweat wherever they fell ill.”¹

The old Duchess of Norfolk, who evidently prided herself upon her medical skill, assures Wolsey that in the event of his being attacked she will undertake to cure him, having in her own home had great experience “of all manner of sorts of treatment, good and bad, and none have miscarried as yet.” She states that her neighbours invariably send for her if they are ill, and “if they be sick at heart I give them treacle and water imperial.” which had saved many who had repeatedly swooned and had received the Sacrament. “Divers others doth swell at their stomachs, to whom I give Setwell to eat, the which dryveth it away from the

VIII. to Anne Boleyn : “There came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. I have to grieve for three causes, first to hear of my mistress’ sickness, whose health I desire as my own, and would bear the half of yours to save you ; secondly because I fear to suffer yet longer that absence which has already given me so much pain ; God deliver me from such importunate rebel ! thirdly because the physician I trust most is at present absent when he could do me the greatest pleasure. However in his absence I send you the second, praying God he may soon make you well, and I shall love him the better. I hope you will be governed by his advice, and then I hope to see you soon again.” So much afraid of infection, however, was the King, that he caused an Act of Parliament to be passed setting forth that “In consideration of the great plague and pestilence all such persons as should doe their homage to the King should doe the same without kissing of him and the same homage to bee as good as tho’ they kissed him.”—Cotton, *Abridged Statutes*, Tower, 18 Henry VIII.

¹ Du Bellay to Montmorency, June 11, 1528.—*Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. iv. 4391.

stomach; and the best remedye that I do know is to take A.D. 1528
 litle or no sustenance or drinke, unto sixtene hours be
 past. . . . Vinegar, wormwood, rosewater, and crumbs
 of brenn bread is very good and comfortabil, to putt in a
 linnen cloth to smell unto your nose, so that it touch not
 your visage I never saw people so farr out of
 the waye in no disease as they be in this; and aboute
 twelve or sixteen hours is the greatest danger. There
 be some sweateth much, and some that sweateth very
 litle, but brynneth very sore; but the greatest surety is
 in any wise to keepe your bed twenty-four hours.”¹

* * *

It is impossible to discover any trace of extravagant personal expenditure on the part of the Earl,² whose health and habits would, on the contrary, appear to have indisposed him to a life of luxury or pleasure. His financial difficulties, however, seem to have increased year by year; and he now prays his friend Thomas Arundel to intercede with the Cardinal for conferring upon him the Wardenship of Wark and Dunstanborough Castles, the joint emoluments of which did not exceed £200 a year, in succession to Sir William Ellecar “who lyeth at the mercy of God and is not lykely to recover;” and expresses the hope that the sacrifices he had made at Wolsey’s desire for his wife’s charges “for which I have no thanks and am put to these plages (plagues) and

¹ Duchess of Norfolk to Cardinal Wolsey, June, 1528.—*Ibid.* 4710. *

² His gifts to those who had rendered him personal services are on a very liberal scale, as is shown by the *Booke of Grants of the Sixth Erl of Northumberland*, at Syon House. Among these there is a grant to his physician, Stephen Thomson, in consideration of “acceptable service,” of a lease of his lands, tenements, rents, and buildings in the city and suburbs of York for twenty-one years at a rental of five shillings; and an annuity of five marks to “William Bagthorpe, learned man in the law, in consideration of his discrete council.” The donations to the Church are considerable. See Appendix XLIX.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D. 1502-1537 housebreaks besydes ;" ¹ will serve to strengthen his claim to some office of profit.

* * *

A marked feature in the character of the Earl of Northumberland was his strong sense of justice. That leniency towards criminals with which Wolsey so frequently reproached him was mainly due to his desire to act in accordance with established laws, rather than to resort to the arbitrary exercise of military power. While falling into the prevalent practice of offering money payment for offices in the gift of the Crown, there is no instance recorded, among many such on the part of other nobles, of his seeking to influence the course of legal procedure ; although he was much involved in litigation, and bribery to such an end would have been in no way considered derogatory. On one occasion indeed he went so far as to urge Wolsey to cause a lawsuit touching some of his lands in the north, to be tried in the King's Court of Oyer and Terminer, instead of by local tribunals, lest the latter, being to some extent composed of his officers or tenants, should be open to the charge of partiality.²

It would be wearisome to refer in detail to the Earl's correspondence relating to the repeated Border outrages and the recriminations and futile negotiations to which these gave rise in both countries.³ Angus was now openly

¹ The Earl of Northumberland to Thomas Arundel, November 2, 1528, Record Office. In the following month Wolsey directs the Abbot of St. Mary, York, to pay out of the King's moneys one thousand marks due for the Earl of Northumberland's last year's fee, and authorises him to allow the Earl to redeem any of his plate in the Abbot's hands "to the value for which it lies in gage."—*State Papers*, December 9, 1528. *Ibid.* This would appear to be the plate pledged for the costs of the funeral of the magnificent Earl.

² Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, Sept. 23, 1529, Record Office.

³ Most of his letters of this period, and more especially those relating to Scottish affairs, are to be found in the *Cotton MSS.*, and abstracts of them in Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1529

an ally of the English King against his own sovereign, and Northumberland having been commanded to receive him "lovingly and favourably" informs Wolsey that "at the Kynges towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, at the repair of the saide Erle Northwarde, I entertaynyed hym in as amyable and lovyng wyse as I cold dewyse; all the gentilmen of Northumberland beyng present with me assemblyd at that tyme;" but that he had taken the opportunity of warning his guest that being responsible, and bound to afford redress, for all illegal depredations committed by persons within his jurisdiction upon Scottish territory, he and such of his friends as might seek refuge in England were required "to kepe good rule, ner macke noo roburies ner spoiles within the realme of Scotland."¹

These injunctions do not appear to have been very strictly observed; but when some weeks later a band of Scottish men from Liddesdaile made an "open forrey," lifted a quantity of cattle, defeated the English force sent in their pursuit, and carried the commander, Nicholas Rydley, a prisoner into Scotland, the Earl wrote a severe letter of warning and admonition to the King of Scotland.² In this he demands immediate redress for the outrage, as otherwise he should feel compelled to take measures "whiche shalbe most to my discomforte, considering the nye proximitye of blood betwixt your Grace and me;" whereas by complying he would give proof to the King of England that "ye tender and love the perseveraunce and proceedings of justice, and hate, chastyse, and pounishe them which be mynded and knowen clerly geven to the contrary."

* * *

¹ Northumberland to Wolsey, August 29, 1529.—*Wolsey Correspondence*, vol. viii. part. i. 124.

² Earl of Northumberland to King James V., November 25, 1529.—*State Papers Dom. Henry VIII.*

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1502-1537

By this time the triumphant career of the great Cardinal—for great he was in spite of all his littleness—was drawing to its close. The countenance from which he derived his power was turned from him, and the menacing form of an offended woman stood between him and the royal presence. The authority which he had so mercilessly wielded to crush his enemies, was now directed by other hands to his own ruin, and the courtiers who had cringed and crawled before him, met his troubled eye with insolent defiance: “not one so poor to do him reverence,” amongst all that yesterday obsequious crowd. King Henry’s Commissioners were busy taking an inventory of the contents of his “poor house at Westminster,” and the great nobles whom he had humbled and subdued found it a congenial employment to be made the instruments of his degradation. The Earl of Northumberland’s name appears among the signatures to the Bill of Disability brought against the Cardinal in the House of Lords; but he took no part in any of those personal proceedings in which the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who but a few weeks before had treated Wolsey with a degree of deference bordering upon servility, now distinguished themselves by the harshness of their demeanour towards the fallen statesman.¹

The sentence of banishment from the scenes of his past glories, relieving him as it did from the coldness of an ungrateful sovereign, the insolence of the emancipated nobles, the mocking condolences of his numerous

¹ Want of money having caused Wolsey to incur some delay in proceeding northward in compliance with the Royal command. Norfolk, who but a few weeks before had subscribed himself as “humble your Grace’s ever bounden Servant,” thus addressed Cromwell: “Methinks the Cardinal thy master makith noe haste to goe northward. Tell hym if he goe not away but shall tarry, *I will tear him with my teeth.*” —*Stow’s Annals*, p. 552. Professor Brewer describes Norfolk as “a small, spare man of dark complexion, cruel lips, and more cruel temper.”

enemies, was a merciful punishment; for it must have been a relief and comfort to the disgraced minister to turn from false friends and sycophants¹ to the spontaneous love and reverence with which the honest people of the north now greeted their Archbishop. To them he was not the obnoxious statesman fallen from his high estate, but the champion of the true faith, seeking refuge among the faithful sons of the Church from heretical persecutors.

Sir William Percy, who held under his brother the offices of Steward of the Lordships of Pocklington, and Catton, and Forester of Leckonfield,² became so conspicuous by his show of respect and deference towards Wolsey, that he appears to have been warned of the danger of such an attitude in favour of one whom the King had ceased to honour; but the Cardinal writes to assure the old soldier, that whatever Sir Robert Constable or others might report, he need have no fear on that score, since the King had informed the Lord Warden and other of the great nobles in the north, that he would not be "discontented" with those who should show favour to the Archbishop, treating him as his dignity required, and assisting him in all his causes.³ "How beit," he continued, "I am ryght sory that

¹ "The Cardinal now shewed himselfe much more humbler than he was wont to bee, and the Lordes showed themselves more higher and straunger than they were wont to bee."—Hall's *Chronicle*.

² Under so styled Letters Patent from the fifth and sixth Earls, dated April 23, 1527, and January 7, 1529.—*Book of Grants*, b. ii. 5, fol. 36.

³ Wolsey here refers to letters addressed by the King to the Lord Warden and other authorities in the north, informing them that the Cardinal was proceeding to those parts "for the better administration of the cure to him committed, which for a long season hath bene orbate and destitute of an Archbishop there resident," and desiring that "you will not onely shew yourselfe unto hym, from tyme to tyme, of toward and benevolent mynde, but also that you will be to hym comfortynge, aydynge, helpynge and assystynge."—See Ellis's *Royal Letters*.

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1502—1537

my Lorde, your owen (nephew), beryth not onto you hys good wyl, wych at my jorney to these partis I schalbe glade by all good meanys to knowe ye may atteyne." He concluded by telling Sir William that he need be under no apprehension with regard to the Ughtred lands,¹ and sends him a warrant for two bucks out of his park at Beverley.²

Wolsey's enemies at Court, however, were not yet content ;—they had scotched, not killed their snake,—and the Cardinal's implacable resentments were too well known not to render the possibility of his restoration to the royal favour an unceasing source of uneasiness and apprehension. Ann Boleyn, mindful of the past—for had not Wolsey been the principal opponent to her marriage with the King, however willing he had been that she should become his mistress?—was doubtless one of the most active agents in completing the downfall of one who never forgot or forgave an injury.

In November, 1530, Sir Walter Walshe, a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, appeared at Topcliffe with instructions to the Earle of Northumberland to accompany him to Cawood, there to arrest Wolsey. On their arrival with a strong armed escort, the Earl desired the porter to deliver the keys of the gates, which the man sturdily declined to do, alleging that the keys were intrusted to him by his Lord the Archbishop, to whom alone he would restore them.

¹ Collins states that Sir William Percy never married ; but this is an error. The " Ughtred lands " here mentioned by the Cardinal refer to estates which William Percy had acquired by marriage, and it is recorded that in 1529 he and his wife (the widow of Sir Robert, and mother of Sir Thomas, Ughtred) signed articles, under which they assigned to Wolsey, for specified considerations, their life interest in certain manors in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.—See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. 5320.

² Wolsey to William Percy, from his manor at Scroby.—*Cotton MSS.* Appendix 23.

The Earl approved of him as "a good fellow, who speaketh like a faithful servant to his master, and like an honest man";¹ and permitted him to retain the keys on condition of his taking an oath to permit no ingress or egress except by the Earl's command. A.D. 1530

Wolsey had risen from dinner, when he was informed by a servant that Northumberland was in the hall; "whereat he marvelled, and would not believe him, but commanded a gentleman to bring him the truth, who, going down the staires, sawe the Erle of Northumberland, and returned and sayde it was very hee. 'Then,' quoth the Cardinal, 'I am sorrie we have dynded, for I feare our officers be not provided with any more of good fish to make him some honorable cheere; let the table stand,' quoth he, and with that he rose up, and going down staires he encountered the Erle coming up with all his traine, and as sone as the Cardinal espied the Erle he put off his cap, and saide, 'My Lorde, ye be most heartily welcome,' and so embraced each other. . . . Then my Lord led the Earl to the fire, saying, 'My Lord, ye shall go unto my bedchamber, where is a good fire made for you, and then ye may shift your apparel until your chamber be made ready. Therefore let your male (malle) be brought up and, or ever I go, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands.' And when he had taken them by the hands, he returned to the Earl and said, 'Ah, my Lord, I perceive well that ye have observed my old precepts and instructions, which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth, which was to cherish your father's old servants, whereof I see here present with you a great number. Surely, my Lord, you do therein very well and nobly, and like a wise gentleman. For these be they that will not only serve and

¹ Cavendish.

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A.D.
1502-1537

love you, but they will also live and die with you ; and glad to see you prosper in honor, the which I beseech God to send you with long life.' This said, he took the Earl by the hand and led him into his bedchamber, and they being all alone, (save only I that kept the door, being gentleman usher,) these two Lords standing at a window by the chimney in my Lord's bedchamber, the Earl trembling said with a very faint and soft voice unto my Lord, laying his hand upon his arm : ' My Lord, I arrest you of high treason ; ' with which the Cardinal, being marvelously astonied, standing still both a good space, without speaking."¹

The historical painter could hardly desire a more dramatic subject for his pencil than this scene. As the northern noble reluctantly laid his hand upon the sleeve of the Prince of the Church, and in subdued and gentle accents announced the royal mandate, what a crowd of memories must have flashed across their brains ! Eight years had barely passed since Lord Percy had stood humbly before the haughty Cardinal, who in harsh and imperious words dispelled the boy's young dream of a happy future : and now their parts were reversed, and he who had long played the tyrant stood pale and "astonied" before his victim. Did Wolsey then wince under the crushing weight of that Divine retribution, in the name of which he had so often invoked vengeance on his enemies ? And might we not find excuses for the Earl, if in such an hour he had displayed a sense of gratified triumph towards one who had ever been to him a hard and cruel taskmaster ? who had wounded him in his love and in his pride ; who had poisoned his domestic life, embittered his public life, impaired his fortune, and assailed his reputation ?

¹ Cavendish, from whom Hall, Stow, and other of the old historians have taken their version of this incident.

THE ARREST.

Yet, to the Earl's honour be it said, he showed only feelings of sorrow and pity for his old oppressor, and acquitted himself of his unwelcome duty with a delicacy and generosity which stand in grateful contrast to the demeanour assumed towards the fallen statesman by many others who had far less cause for resentment.¹

A.D. 1530

The first shock past, Wolsey desired to see the authority for his arrest; this the Earl declined to exhibit, as it contained secret instructions from the King.

"Well, then," quoth my lord, "I will not obey your arrest, for there hath been between some of your predecessors and mine, great contention and debate given upon an ancient grudge, which may succeed in you with like inconvenience as it hath done heretofore; therefore, unless I see your authority and commission, I will not obey you;" and he proceeded to argue that, as a member of the See Apostolic, he was not subject to any temporal authority. To this the Earl replied:

"When I was sworn Warden of the Marches you yourselfe told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of the King; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do."

¹ The Earl has been charged with ingratitude, not so much for the manner in which he performed this duty, as for having undertaken the service. It is evident, however, that he had no option in the matter. As Lord Warden of the Marches he received the royal commands by a messenger specially sent into the north. A modern writer of great research and habitual accuracy (the late Professor Brewer, editor of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*) finds excuses for the Earl's resentment, because Wolsey's conduct towards him had "galled his harsh and imperious spirit and was never forgiven." The adjectives employed are singularly inappropriate as applied to Northumberland's nature: and if he was unforgiving he certainly showed no traces of it in what, to a less generous mind, would have been the hour of triumph. The duty was not of his seeking, but, having it imposed upon him, it must be allowed that he did his "spiriting gently."

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1502-1537

The Cardinal hereupon appealed to Sir Walter Walsh, and, on his confirming the Earl's contention, the ruling passion in Wolsey's mind once more, and for the last time in his life, asserted itself. Resistance was futile, but he might cast a final indignity upon a member of the order which he had persistently humbled and affronted. He accordingly repudiated the authority of the Peer, but submitted to be arrested by the King's gentleman in waiting, saying: "The worst in the King's Privie Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest peer of the realme by the King's commandment."¹

The Earl continued to treat his prisoner with respect and consideration, allowing his favourite servants to attend upon him, and in all matters consulting his convenience. Apprehending commotion on the part of the numerous household, he thought it inexpedient to admit these to take a public farewell of their Lord; but on Wolsey's urging the point, he gave way. The arrest had taken place on Friday, the 4th November, and on the Sunday following the Cardinal was sent under an escort commanded by the Earl's faithful retainer, Sir Roger Lassells,² to be delivered to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Park. Seized with illness while there, nearly three weeks elapsed before he could proceed upon his journey, but he did not live to reach its termination. Arrived at Leicester, he was borne to the abbey where

¹ "Which, whether he did out of stubbornness to the Earl who had been heretofore educated in his house, or out of despiht to Mistress Ann Bolen, who (he might conceive) had put this affront upon him in finding measures to employ her ancient suitor to take revenge on both their names, doth not appeare."—*Life of Henry VIII.* by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. It is by no means improbable that the King had selected Northumberland for this service at the instigation of the lady. It would have been an essentially womanly act of vengeance on her part.

² The Earl himself remained at Cawood "to see the despatch of the household, and to establish all the stuff in suretie within the same."—Cavendish.

THE DEATH OF WOLSEY.

the dying statesman humbly craved a final resting-place :

A.D.
1530-1531

"O father abbot,
An old man, broken with the storms of state,
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye;
Give him a little earth for charity!"¹

* * *

It is significant that it was not until after the removal of Cardinal Wolsey that the King, in recognition of his military services, created the Earl of Northumberland a Knight of the Garter.

The ceremony took place on St. George's Day, 1531, and we are told that he received the badges of the order *maxime gratulabundus*,² to him it is to be feared a rare experience.

For the heavy expenses and financial responsibilities he had incurred in the performance of his duties, however, he met with no compensation, and so deeply involved was he now in debt that, towards the end of the year, he signified his intention of appearing at Court for the purpose of making arrangements for the sale of Petworth, which the King had expressed a wish to acquire.³

The military establishments which the Lord Warden was at this time required to maintain in the north, were exceptionally large, owing to the disturbed condition of Scotland produced by Wolsey's dishonest and aggressive policy. To place the Scottish crown on the brow of the King of England had been one of the dearest objects of his ambition; and Henry, while now writing affectionate letters to the Queen's brother and to his young nephew, was directly encouraging Angus and other of the mal-

¹ *King Henry VIII.* act iv. scene ii.

² Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 388.

³ Northumberland to Cromwell, Sept. 27, 1531. About the same time Letters Patent were issued, enabling the Earl to sell his lands in Kent. See Appendix L.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D. 1502-1537 content nobles, in their secret efforts to depose their King in his own favour.

The Lord Warden's letters of this period, notwithstanding their involved sentences and capricious orthography, serve to convey a clear impression of the political state of affairs in the neighbouring kingdom; they are too numerous and too lengthy for quotation, but an epitome of a few of them will not here be out of place.

29 September, 1531. Reporting the interception of despatches addressed to the King of Scots, which established that the Emperor of Germany (Charles V.) had concluded a peace with Scotland for a hundred years, and that though the Queen of Hungary "wold in no wyse marry the Scottes King," they both urged an alliance with the Emperor's niece, the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark.

27 December, 1531. Reporting an interview with Earl Bothwell, who had offered to place his sword at the disposal of the King of England, and who is described as "of parsonell wit, lernynge and manners, of his yeres, as toward and as goodly a gentelman as ever I saw in my liffe, and to my simple understandynge he is verey meete to serve your Hignes in anything that shall be your most gracious pleasure to command him withal."

In reply to the King's inquiries as to what this Scottish Earl "wold do for revengynge his displeasure or releyvynge of his hart and stomach agaynst the Scottes Kyng," Northumberland states that Bothwell would engage not only to serve Henry in his wars against Scotland "with a thowsand gentileman and sex thowsand comons, but also to become your Highnes' trew subject and legeman;" and that he (the writer) did not doubt that by means of

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. vii. 157.*

his own power, and that of the Earl of Angus, he should be able "to crown your Grace in the town of Eddinburghe withyn breif tyme."¹

A.D.
1531-1533

In the meanwhile James had repeatedly complained to his "derrest Uncle" of outrages committed on his territories for which the Earl of Northumberland would afford no redress,² and of the open encouragement given to his rebellious subjects; but the English King in reply exonerated his Lord Warden from all blame, and retaliated by accusing his nephew of want of rigour in punishing offenders within his own territory.³

23 August, 1532. The Earl reports having taken measures in compliance with the King's orders "to establish the North" and that he had warned "every gentelman which lay within the towne of Newcastle to repayre and lye at their owne houses, there to kepe watch warde showte and crye, and euery man to be ready to ryse with his neghbor and folowe upon payne of deth." Sir Ralph Fenwick had captured a Scottish band, led by Hector and Andrew Armstrong, in an attempt to burn one of the Earl's towns on the Tyne, and they had been sentenced to death, but respited pending the King's pleasure in consideration of their having offered to serve the English. Since then a body of 400 Scots, including 300 "tried Horsemen," had "run an open forrey" within the middle March; whereupon the Earl's servants, Thomas Erring-

¹ Northumberland to Henry VIII., *State Papers*, iv. 597. Record Office. This letter consists of four closely-covered pages in the Earl's handwriting.

² He accuses the Earl and his followers of having committed "most detestable and notorious crymes by burnyng of Church lands and Corne, and murdering and burning in the silence of the night."—*S. P. Scotland*.

³ Henry VIII. to James V. March 2, 1532, *Lansdowne MSS.* 255. f. 355. This letter was sent to the Scottish king by Carlisle Herald, who was commanded not to await an answer unless a friendly disposition were shown to comply with Henry's injunctions.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

ton, Alexander Fetherstonhagh, Robert Tyrelwall and the tenants of Sir Nicholas Ridley, to the number of six score, came to the rescue and, outnumbered though they were, succeeded in overcoming the marauders, slaying some, wounding over sixty, "the lest of theyme having a pece of spere in hym, or elles one arrowe," and taking "twelve prisoners who shall be executed upon the following Sundaye." He suspects the Tynedale men of complicity, and if this prove to be so, "will not fayle to put theym to such terrible execution that I trust it shall be a warnyng to all such offenders to bring in the Scottes hereafter." *

In the course of this year the Lord Chief Justice Fitzjames writes to Cromwell from the North, reporting "the state of this royaulme, our Lorde be thankide, in as gode peas and tranquilite, without grete roberies or riottes, as I knewe it many yeres. Some besynes (business) ben yn the Marches off Scotland, as I dowte not ye have herde; they began to bourne a towen off the Erle of Northumberland, and he hath burned a towen of theres, with some other besynes."

Towards the end of the year raids on a large scale were carried into English territory, and as appears with increased ferocity. Marke Carr having openly declared his intention to burn one of the Earl of Northumberland's towns near Warkworth, where he then lay, and to "give him light by which to put on his clothes at midnight," elaborate precautions against the threatened attack had been adopted. "Nevertheless, uppon Tuesday at nyght last, came thyrty lyght horsemen unto a litell vilage of myne, called Whitell, having not past sex howses in it, and there wold have fyred the said howses, but there was no fyre to gyt there, and they forgate to brynge any withe

* Northumberland to King Henry VIII. *State Papers*, iv. 611, Record Office.

SCOTTISH OUTRAGES.

theym, and so toke a wyf, being grete with child in the towne, and said to hyr, 'Where we cannot give the Lord lyght, yet we shall do this in spyte of hym,' and gave her three mortell woundes upon the head, and another in right syde with a dagger, whereupon the said wyf is dede, and the child in her belly is loste."¹

A.D.
1531-1533

In the same letter the Earl urges the King to lose no time in carrying out "what purpose shall stande to your most gracious pleasour consernynge the realme of Scotlande;" adding that a Scottish gentleman with whom he had spoken at Berwick, had assured him that as soon as he should display his banner over the border, Tynedale would become subject to King Henry; but that if he let this opportunity slip it would be "hard hereafter to bring them to the lure."

In the following month, another formidable irruption is reported, in retaliation for which the Earl having raised a force of 2,500 men invaded Scotland, and while he himself burnt a town called Raynton, Lord Clifford, Sir Arthur Darcy, Sir Richard Tempest and Angus, each led a separate raid, with such effect that "thankes be to God we did not leave one pele, gentlemans howse, or grange, unburnt or destroyed, and so reculed to England" with a large number of prisoners, cattle and sheep. Sir Arthur Darcy boasts that "such a roode hath not been seene in winter this two hundrede years."²

In requesting that thanks might be returned to the gentlemen under his command on this service, Northumberland prays the King to permit him to revert to the exercise of a privilege formerly enjoyed by all Earls, by the Lord Wardens, and even by those of inferior rank when in command of armies, but which, in his

¹ Earl of Northumberland to King Henry VIII., October 22, 1532, *Cott. MSS.* Calig. B. vi. 24.

² Same to same, Dec. 15, 1532, *State Papers*, iv. 627, Record Office.

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A.D.
1502-1537

jealousy of the power of the nobles, Henry VII. had virtually abrogated: the conferring of knighthood on the field of battle.¹

"And also when it haith pleasid your most Roiall Majestie to admyt me, most unworthy your Warden here, rehersyng in your most gracious Letters Patentes, I to use the saide office as haith bene accustomed in your most noble progenitors dayes, as more at large doith appere in your Highness said letters patentes; by reason whereof the most part of the exercise of myne auctorite rynneth appone a custome, in which custome, as all the holl contrie doth conferme, that Wardens in their roodes (raids) hath advanced the order of Knyghthode to theym that so deservith, for which I assure your Grace I have no small sute; and yet nevertheless it was according to my most bounden duetie I wold not entrepryse to doynge thereof unto the tyme I knewe further of your most gracious plesour; most humble beseeching your Highness thereof, seeyng yt ys the thyng that shall towche most my pore honestie, and also encouraging the hartes of the gentlemen to serve me the better underneth your Gracious Hyghnes, whom I shall serve, as I accompte myselfe, with as true humble and faythful hart as ever did subject his soveran Lorde."

No answer to this letter is on record, and it is not probable that Henry would have made the concession demanded.

The enemies of England across the border seem at this time to have given the Lord Warden less trouble than did the gentlemen of the North, whose

¹ The third Earl of Northumberland had made eight knights on the field after the victory at Wakefield, and the Duke of Somerset four. The last exercise of this privilege on the part of the nobles under Henry VIII. was by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden. Sir Harris Nicolson has some interesting remarks on this subject in his introduction to the *Orders of British Knighthood*.

lawlessness and violence are the subjects of frequent correspondence.

A.D.
1531-1533

Lord Dacre is reported to the King for having illegally taken certain prisoners, and, on the Lord Warden demanding their surrender into his custody, having allowed them "to slyp."¹ The Mayor of Hull, it is complained, forcibly seized upon an English ship with a Scottish prize in tow, which had been driven into that port, and when required in the King's name to release these vessels "he wold in no wies obey but with disdennous wourdes, and like handelyng of my said Warden Sargente, causied hym to departe."² The attempt to induct a vicar nominated by the King into the Parish Church of Brigham, led to armed resistance:³ Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram Percy refused to recognize Lord Ogle, who had been appointed Deputy Warden under their brother, and forbade their tenants and retainers to rise at his command; and the Lisles, Shaftos, Fenwicks, and other gentlemen of note, when they were not fighting among themselves, were banded together in defiance of the laws of the Marches.⁴

The hostilities with Scotland had now assumed a more formidable character, but in the summer of 1533 serious efforts were made to bring about an understanding between the two kingdoms. On the 26th July, Henry's Commissioners in the North report that the Earl of Northumberland had joined them in order "to be privea to our proceedings in all causes and matiers betweene us and the Commissioners for Scotland, to the entente that he may counsaile and conferre

¹ Earl of Northumberland to the King, August, 1532, *Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. i. 124.

² Same to same, Nov. 1532, *Ibid.* B. vi. 24.

³ Sir John Lamplaugh to Cromwell, Sept. 1532, *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. v. 1433.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. v. 727.

A.D.
1502-1537

with us in all cawses commytte unto our charge by your Highnesis.¹

In September peace for one year was formally concluded: the Kings exchanged letters of congratulation, and Northumberland reports that he had disbanded his armies in the North, "and for soo moche as there was in the handys of the saide Syr George Lawson, he none other, any money from your Highnes for dissolvynge of the said garyson, I dyde by advice of your counsaile here shewe myselfe to the advauncement of the same to my possible power, and soo heith dissolved theym for thy tyme."

He adds that he will now be able to devote himself to the establishment of better order in the North; "after which soo done, lyke to your most gracious commaundment sent unto me heretofore, I intend to gyf myne attendaunce uppon your Highnes according to my most humble desyre and most bounden dutie; having myne only hope and confidence and trust in your most gracious abundant goodness to be unto me according to my pore trew hart."²

* * *

Anne Boleyn's steadily increasing ascendancy over the king had by this time become a source of serious alarm to her numerous enemies, who—actuated though they were by different motives, religious, political, and personal—were all equally interested in preventing her elevation to a position which would place them at her mercy.

Among other intrigues set on foot at this time with the view to discrediting Anne in the eyes of her royal admirer, there was one secretly instigated by Lord

¹ *Cott. MSS.* Calig. B. iii. 161.

² Northumberland to the King, Sept. 30, 1533, *Cotton MSS.* Calig. B. iii. 229.

Shrewsbury and his daughter, some interesting details of which have been brought to light in a recent publication.¹ A.D.
1531-1533

It is stated that during one of their frequent quarrels the Earl of Northumberland had so far forgotten himself as to tell his Countess that she was not his true wife, he having been "betrothed to Anne Boleyn, and that in consequence of this pre-contract any subsequent marriage was illegal."

Lady Northumberland, rejoicing at the prospect of being freed from a hateful tie, and of wreaking vengeance at once upon her husband and her rival, begged her father to lay the matter before the King. Shrewsbury, however, was unwilling to commit himself so far; he was too sagacious to believe that such a statement, made in a moment of exasperation, could be founded on fact. Still it might be turned to account to damage the Earl, and to shake Henry's confidence in his mistress. He accordingly communicated the pretended revelation to the Duke of Norfolk, who examined his niece on the subject.

Anne was now near the realization of her ambitious hopes, and had there been the slightest grounds for such a charge she would doubtless, at so critical a moment, have used every effort to hush up the perilous scandal. Instead of this, however, she adopted the bolder course

¹ *Anne Boleyn: A Chapter in English History*, by Paul Friedmann. (Macmillan, 1884) vol. i. p. 159. The author, a learned German who has devoted much conscientious research to his work, has derived the greater part of his information from the despatches of the different foreign envoys then at the Court of Henry VIII., and a too implicit reliance upon the contents of these seems to have led into some errors.

The incident now referred to is the subject of a report from the Minister Chapuis to Charles V. in the archives of Vienna, and serves to explain the circumstances which led to the Earl of Northumberland's examination before the Council in 1532 with regard to his early relations with Anne Boleyn.

1500-1501

of maintaining her honour. During the whole time before the King, she demanded a strict inquiry of her relations with Lord Percy ten years previous, and the Earl of Northumberland being summoned, appear before the Council, gave a positive denial of the charge, and afterwards voluntarily, in the presence of the whole King of Castile, declared upon a solemn oath that there had never been any pretensions or promises of marriage between him and Anne.

Mr. Freeman says that the Earl may have had strong motives for not divulging the truth —

He knew that the King considered a fair trial as closely attended the King's honour as might almost be charged with treason, and that if by revealing a truth he rendered the marriage between Henry and Anne nearly impossible, he would have increased the probability of both the King and the Earl.

Henry is with the greatest of reason a man who is to be trusted, and who is not to be deceived. He is a man of great spirit, and of great courage, and of great strength of mind. He is a man of great honour, and of great integrity, and of great loyalty. He is a man of great wisdom, and of great judgment, and of great discretion. He is a man of great courage, and of great strength of mind, and of great honour, and of great integrity, and of great loyalty. He is a man of great wisdom, and of great judgment, and of great discretion.

* The King, Henry, was a man of great spirit, and of great courage, and of great strength of mind. He was a man of great honour, and of great integrity, and of great loyalty. He was a man of great wisdom, and of great judgment, and of great discretion. He was a man of great courage, and of great strength of mind, and of great honour, and of great integrity, and of great loyalty. He was a man of great wisdom, and of great judgment, and of great discretion.

* See also p. 100.

worthy witnesses ;" and it is not to be believed that the Council would have neglected, in the course of their investigation, to avail themselves of such evidence. A.D. 1533

The truth of the case appears to be that Northumberland having in a fit of anger ungenerously reminded his wife of his early love for Anne, and perhaps expressed his regret that *she* had not become his wife, the Countess, glad of any opportunity of injuring her husband, chose to interpret and to represent those remarks as an admission on his part of a previous marriage, and therefore, as far as he was concerned, of an act of bigamy.

The inquiry which ensued failed in its purpose ; its result was to satisfy the King of the innocence, and the unimportant character, of the relations which had existed between Anne and her youthful lover ; thus defeating the plots of her enemies, and only serving to raise her still higher, if possible, in the royal favour.

* * *

The following letter affords us a glimpse of the rude postal service in England at that period :

"As to postes between the Northe and the Courte, there be nowe but two, wherof one is a good robust felowe, and was wont to be diligent, though evil intreated many times, he and other postes, by herbingeours,¹ for lak of horse rome or horsmete, without whiche diligence can not be. The other hathe bene the most payneful felowe in nygt and daye that I have knowen among the messengers. If he now shalbe changed, as reeson is, he

¹ The keepers of roadside houses of entertainment, upon whom the letter-carriers were necessarily dependent for their food and shelter, and that of their horses ; but who appear to have been required to furnish such provision without, or for very inadequate, remuneration.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

sueth the Kynges Grace for some small living for his olde service, having never had ordinary wages. I wrote unto my Lorde of Northumberlande to write on the bak of his pacquettes the hour and the day of the depeche, and so I did to others, but it is seldome observed. I wol also desire you to remember that many tymes happen two depeches in a day one way, and sometymes moo, and that often seasons happen countre post, that is to ride both Northewarde and Southewarde. This is too much for one horse or one man.

"My Lord of Northumberland hathe sent a poste; My Lord Dakre another, in the nek of hym, they of Berwick a 3rd, and sometymes Sir George Lawson, aparte, another."¹

* * *

In this year the Earl lost his uncle, Jocelyn Percy, who, according to a letter from his brother, Sir William, to Cromwell, had been "poisoned by three of his servants, Humph. Snawdell, William West, and a maid servant of their counsel. . . .

". . . His son and heir Edward Percy, *nine years old*, is married to one Walterton,—a sorry bargain his blood considered. I beg you will assyste me in his wardeship and marriage at a reasonable rate."²

* * *

When some students of Oxford University ventured to discuss the legality of Queen Katherine's divorce,³

¹ Sir Bryan Tuke, Postmaster-General and Treasurer, to Cromwell, August 17, 1533. Chapter House, Cromwell Correspondence, Bundle T.

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* Jocelyn Percy had married the daughter and heiress of Walter Frost of Beverley. The "sorry bargain" to which Sir William Percy refers was the daughter of Sir Thomas Waterton, of Walton, York.

³ The Earl of Northumberland had been one of the signatories of the letter which the English peers addressed to the Pope in July, 1533.

the King caused them to be reminded that it was a dangerous pastime to stir a hornet's nest : *non est bonum irritare crabrones*. A.D. 1533

The time had indeed come when a fatal sting was prepared for those who dared to question the royal will, and when neither wisdom, patriotism, nor long and faithful service, were allowed to weigh against the slightest opposition to the wishes or caprices of the sovereign. Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor,¹ was now to experience the peril attending the conscientious expression of his honest convictions. He could not, and he would not, aid in ridding the King of the wife of whom he had wearied ; and upon the Earl of Northumberland the ungrateful duty was imposed of demanding from him the surrender of the Grand Seal. After a year's imprisonment in the Tower, which failed to shake More's resolution, the peers of the realm were summoned to sit in judgment upon him—in other words to register the decree which the King had ordained. With that servile deference to the royal pleasure which had become habitual to them, they pronounced him guilty of treason, and unhesitatingly and unanimously sentenced this learned, brave, and honest old statesman to an ignominious death upon the scaffold. In Sir Thomas Audley, who succeeded, Henry found a more compliant Chancellor.

Cromwell, though he did not venture to assume towards the ancient nobility, the arrogance of his predecessor in office, was by no means disposed to hold the reins of power with a less firm and unswerving hand.

complaining of the delay incurred by the Court of Rome in the matter of the King's divorce.—See *Fœdera*, xiv. 405.

¹ The Earl of Northumberland was in attendance at the ceremony of delivering the Great Seal to More and a subscribing witness to the Commission.—*Ibid.*, xiv. 350.

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His watchfulness, and resentment of the slightest infringement of the royal authority, were as conspicuous as Wolsey's had ever been; and he was equally tenacious of his own position, as mediator between the King and his greatest subjects.

In January, 1535, he charges the Earl of Northumberland with "want of dewe execution on the Marches," and with the more serious offence of having had a sword of state carried before him when proceeding as Justiciary to York.

The Earl in reply declares that so far from having displayed want of vigour in his Wardenry, "there is such proceedings to justice uppon the Borders under my charge as noo cawse of complaynte trewly oughte to be made in that behalf;" and, while admitting the second charge, he claims his right to such formality, as belonging to his office, and "like as heretofore in the same toun hath beene used of late dayes by the Erle of Rutland. Good Maister Secretery, yf that same were taken by the Kynges Majesty of me to be done in pomp and pride of myselfe, without his most gracious auctoryte which I have for that same, it shulde then be unfenedlye most to my discomforte; for so much as neyther dutye nor reason can gyve me, a most poore and trewe subject, to have a sworde borne, but onely by the honourable auctoryte of His Majesty to be granted most unworthy. The great enmytie I have nowe borne against me by many, as I thinke is not unknowen unto you, cannot be defendit but onely in the Kynge's comfortable goodnes unto me, with your frendly and favourable settayne forthe of that same accordinge to my desertes; and eveny soo I shall serve the Kynges Majesty as I putt noo doutte shall stand to his most noble contentation, and in my doyngs soo shall procede as may be with your good helpe and counsaill: which hertily I desyre from tyme to tyme, from hym in

whom restyth myn affyance and trust under God and the Kyngge." A.D. 1535

In the following June the Earl presided at a commission appointed to try Lord Dacre upon a charge of treasonable correspondence with "William Scott, Lord of Buchleough," with a view to causing him (Northumberland) "to be conquered and destroyed." The accused was however acquitted.

Shortly after the Earl was himself required to meet charges preferred against him by Dacre of having "procedit to justice with parcyalitie at the last Warden Courte agaynst Sir Humfrey Lisle and Alexander Shaftoe," who had been convicted of high treason by a jury under Sir John Heron, but had escaped over the border. Fully exonerated by the testimony of Sir William Eure, Sir Robert Ellerker, Robert Collingwood, Lyonel Gray and Christopher Mitford, he assures the King that :

"In all your Hyghnes affayres I shall indeavour and use my poore service and my most humble and bounden dutie, soo as the procedinges and doinges in the same I trust shalbe to the high contentation and pleasure of your Majestie." ²

The captaincy of Berwick being about to fall vacant by the expected death of Sir Thomas Clifford, the Earl applies to Cromwell for his interest in obtaining the office for him in consideration of his impaired fortune and a handsome bribe :

"I praye you helpe me, whereby you shall not only recower a pouer nobullman being in decaye, but also get yourselfe much wyrshippe ; that by your meanis so pouer a man shall be encouraged as I am, and bynd me,

¹ Northumberland to Cromwell, Jan. 25, 1535, *S.P. Scotland. Chapter House*, p. 1.

² The same to the King, Sept. 15, 1535. *Chapter House Letters to the King and Council*, vol. iii. 63.

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my frendes, and them that shall come off (after) me, ever, as neverthelese I am most boundon affore, next the Kyng, our Maister, to be toward you and all yours during our lyffes. And, good Sir Secretary, I shall not fayl to gyff you 1000 marks for the sayme bryngyng yt to pas.

"In haste at Topcliff, this 6 November, with the rude and raggyd hand of your own ever boundon most assurdyly,

"H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

"To my syngular and especiall good frend, Sir Secretary. I pray you take more payn in redyng, than I did in wrytynge."¹

* * *

We now once more take up a broken thread in the Earl's unhappy life. The story of the rise and fall of poor Anne Boleyn may be read in these dozen lines from a contemporary chronicle:²

"The 12th daie of Aprill, Anno Domini 1533, beinge Easter eaven, Anne Bulleine, Marques of Pembroke,³ was proclaymed Queene at Greenewych, and offred that daie in the Kinges Chappell, as Queene of Englande." . . .

". . . The Fridaye followinge, beinge the 19 daie of May 1536, at eight of the clocke in the morninge, Ann Bulleyn, Queene, was brought to execucion on the greene within the Tower of London . . . on a scaffold

¹ Northumberland to Cromwell, Nov. 6, 1535, *Chapter House Letters to King and Council*, vol. x. 34.

² *A Chronicle of Englande*, during the reign of the Tudors, by Charles Wriothesley, Windsor Herald, edited from a MS. in the possession of Lieut.-General Lord Henry M. Percy, K.C.B., V.C., F.R.G.S., by William D. Hamilton, F.S.A. Published by the *Camden Society*.

³ She had been created Marquess (not Marchioness) of Pembroke the previous year (the first instance of such rank being conferred on a woman), and had been privately married to the King in January, 1532.

⁴ According to official records the execution did not take place till noon.

made there for the sayde execution . . . and suddenlie the hangman smote of her heade at a stroke with a sworde, and her bodye with the heade was buried in the Chappell within the Tower of London. . . .”¹ A.D. 1536

Barely three years had elapsed since his divorce and remarriage, when the King wearied of his young, as before he had wearied of his elderly, wife. Anne stood between him and the gratification of his passion for another woman, and he gave the command to sweep her from his path. He had, however, incurred much popular odium by his treatment of Catherine of Aragon,² and a good pretext must be found for a repetition of yet more severe proceedings towards his second Queen. It was not sufficient that she should be sacrificed—she must be degraded. The law was set in motion to give effect to the royal decree; and the monstrous indictment having been duly concocted by the Council, the Peers of England were summoned to pronounce the verdict that should set the King free to marry the woman of his choice. He need have had no misgivings as to the result, for they had ever done his bidding humbly enough,

¹ Sir William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower, writes to Cromwell that on the morning of her execution, Queen Anne had sent for him and said, “‘I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time and past my paine.’ I told her that it should be no paine: it was so very little. And then she said, ‘I heard say the executioner was very good and I have a little neck,’ and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men, and also women, executed, and that they have been in great sorrow; and to my knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.”

² Public opinion throughout England had been averse to the divorce; partly, no doubt, from deference to the Pope’s support of Catherine, but in a greater measure from that healthy sense of justice, and love of fair play, which then, as it does now, pervaded the great mass of the people. This national trait is frequently alluded to in the Diplomatic Correspondence of this period. See *State Papers, Venice* vol. iv.

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however unpalatable the task. When Wolsey had succeeded in arousing his jealousy of Buckingham, they had sent their brother peer to the scaffold ; when he could not obtain possession of Anne without being rid of Catherine, they had cast to the winds every personal feeling and every religious scruple, braving the enmity of the great powers of Europe, and the anathema of the Church, to gratify the passion of their sovereign. When Wolsey, in his turn, was doomed, they had become his accusers and judges ; when Thomas More grew obnoxious they had made themselves his executioners. They were now in no less submissive a mood, and should they hesitate to sacrifice a woman ?

Norfolk, it is true, might have been apprehended to have some compunctions in sitting in judgment upon his own niece ;¹ but the fear was groundless. Without a word of remonstrance he took his seat at the trial, flanked by the Duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, and Sir Thomas Audley, his favoured chancellor ; and certainly the Duke left Henry no reason to complain of his want of zeal.²

A modern historian³ who, under the guise of philosophical impartiality, has made himself the champion of Henry the Eighth against the accepted verdict upon the character of that monarch, gives the King credit for having possessed "the ordinary feelings of humanity," and cannot therefore allow it to be believed that "the whole transaction was the scheme of a wicked husband to

¹ Anne Boleyn's mother was Elizabeth Howard, a sister of this Duke of Norfolk.

² Anne Boleyn herself informed the Lieutenant of the Tower that she had been "cruelly handled with the Council, namely with the Duke of Norfolk, . . . and that he had said, to what she had spoken, as it seems, in her defence. Tut, tut, tut ! shaking his head three or four times."—*Strype, Eccl. Memls.* vol. i. Part I. p. 434.

³ Froude, *History of England*.

dispose of a wife of whom he was weary." He accordingly prefers to attribute Henry's treatment of Queen Anne to "natural feeling." He also finds it impossible to believe that, even if the King could have been so atrociously wicked and inhuman, the Peers of England would have "invented" the charges preferred against Anne Boleyn. Looking at contemporary evidence, he can arrive at no other conclusion than that Anne was guilty, or at least, that there was "if no proof of guilt yet a proof of the absence of innocence,"¹ surely a weak foundation whereon to rest a judicial sentence of death. He admits, however, that "nothing is known of the quarter from which the information which led to the inquiry had come,"² and further that "the investigation was conducted with profound secrecy." He omits to add, what he can hardly have failed to know, that the Queen's so-called accomplices, with one exception, emphatically and in spite of promises and threats, denied the charges preferred against them; while the one man, who, under torture, did involve her in his professed guilt, recanted when removed from the rack. Nor does Mr. Froude mention that in spite of Anne's entreaties that she might be confronted with her accusers, not one of them was admitted to her presence, either in open court or elsewhere.

Had the trial of Queen Anne taken place before the entire House of Peers, the presence of her father, her uncle, and her former lover should in decency have been

¹ Compare this with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who says, "It is enough that the law hath condemned her, and that whether she or any one else were in fault is not now to be discussed. This is certain, that the King had cast his affections already on Jane Seymour then attending on the Queen." The inference is not far to seek.

² Mr. Friedmann states (vol. ii. p. 346) that Sir Thomas Percy had been the author of the charges preferred against Smeton, but he quotes no authority for the alleged fact, of which I have been unable to find any corroboration in the public records.

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dispensed with. The Court, however, was composed of only a limited number of peers specially selected by the King,¹ and the nomination of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Wiltshire and Northumberland, leaves little doubt but that Henry, having no fear that the ties of blood or sentiment would assert themselves against his declared wishes, thought that the concurrence of these men in the verdict, would add force to its justice.

The Earl of Northumberland, however, although, in obedience to the royal command, he took his seat in the Tribunal, would not become a direct party to consigning the woman he had once loved to the scaffold, and pleading illness, he hastily left the Court.²

The accused having been found guilty, sentence was duly pronounced, and the King's marriage with his second Queen was declared to be null and void. The grounds for this decision were not allowed to transpire, nor has modern historical research thrown much light upon the subject. Cranmer is reported to have deposed that Queen Anne while in the Tower, had confessed to him the existence of certain "just and lawful impediments" to her union with the King. It is possible

¹ The English Peerage then consisted of fifty-three members, of whom only twenty-six were summoned to the trial.

² "When Anne rose to defend herself she distinguished among her judges the Earl of Northumberland, who sat with ill-disguised agitation, and at length on the plea of indisposition abruptly quitted the apartment before the peers had pronounced the fatal verdict."—*Benet's Memoirs of Anne Boleyn*. The Venetian ambassador states that the Earl was "obliged by a sudden illness to leave the Court."—*Baga de Secretis*. In the official record of the trial it is stated that "all the peers (with the exception of Northumberland) pronounced a verdict of guilty against the accused." Bishop Burnet says that the Earl's indisposition during the trial "might have been casual; but since he was once in love with the Queen, and had designed to marry her, it is no wonder it should be so."—*History of the Reformation, Addenda*, vol. i. p. 363.

THE ALLEGED PRE-CONTRACT.

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that, in the hope of saving her life, or of mitigating the pains of the death penalty, the poor prisoner may have been induced to make any avowal demanded of her ; if so, the disgrace of taking advantage of the terrors of a woman under sentence to be burnt alive, must rest upon the King and his counsellors.*

Supposing a confession to the required effect to have been actually made, of which there is not an atom of proof, its precise character can only be a subject for conjecture. That it was at the time believed to refer to the old pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland is evidenced by his having thought it necessary thus emphatically and explicitly, in a letter to Cromwell, to place his previous denial of the charge upon official record.

"MAISTER SECRETARY.

This shall be to signifie to you that I perceave by Sir Reginald Carneby that ther is a supposed Pre contract between the Queen and me. Wherfor I was not only examined upon my othe before the Archbishopbes of Canterburie and York, but also receaved the blessed Sacrament upon the sayme, before the Duke of Norfolk, and other of the Kynges highnes Council learned in the spiritual law ; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said othe and blessed bodye, which affore I receaved and hereafter entend to receive, that the same may be to my

* The sentence passed upon her was that she should be "burnt or beheaded at the King's pleasure." Burnet says that "lying under so terrible a sentence it is most probable that either some hopes of life were given her, or at least she was wrought on by the assurances of mitigating that cruel part of the judgment of being burnt, into the milder part of the sentence of having her head cut off; so that she confessed a pre-contract."

It need hardly be urged that if her marriage with the King had been shown to be invalid on this or any other ground, the charge of adultery upon which she was tried could not have been sustained.

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damnation if ever there were any contract or promise of marriage betweane her and me. At Newington Greane¹ the xiii daye of May in the 28th year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord, King Henry the viii. (1536).

“Your assured

“NORTHUMBERLAND.”²

Unless this solemn asseveration be pronounced a deliberate falsehood; unless the Earl who, whatever his faults and weaknesses, had ever borne a character for unblemished honour and veracity, be considered to have made himself guilty of a blasphemous and, as far as he was concerned, an objectless perjury, we are driven to the conclusion that, either the Queen's alleged confession was a fabrication; or that it implicated some other person, of which there is no trace of evidence or probability; or, lastly, that the alleged impediment related to an entirely different subject.³ The Earl's disclaimer, however, did not come to light until a comparatively recent period; and contemporary writers, remembering the report of their early love-passages, continued to attribute the

¹ “Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, occupied a mansion on Newington Green. From this house we find the Earl writing in an alarmed way to Secretary Cromwell, vowing that he had never proposed marriage to Ann Boleyn. The Earl, who died the year after, is supposed to have left the house in which he lived, and one on the south side of Newington Green, to the King, who resided for some time in the first, and employed the other for the use of his household. From this country palace of Henry VIII. a pathway leading from the corner of Newington Green, to the turnpike road at Ball's Pond, became known as ‘King Harry's Walk.’”—*Old and New London*.

² *Cotton MSS.* Otho, c. 10.

³ *i.e.* either the relations that had existed between King Henry and Mary Boleyn (the Queen's sister), which according to the ecclesiastical law would, it was held, have rendered the marriage incestuous, and therefore illegal; or the yet more repulsive reason, subsequently published by the Jesuit Sanders, according to which Anne admitted that she believed herself to be King Henry's daughter, her birth having been the result of an intrigue between him and her mother.

nullification of the King's marriage to the discovery of a pre-contract, with whatever latitude may be allowed to the term, between Anne and Northumberland. In the only official records that can be traced it is simply stated that the royal marriage had been "voided for sufficient reasons."¹ The formality of an ecclesiastic sentence of annulment was gone through immediately before Anne's execution: probably because Henry, who was not altogether indifferent to public opinion, may have thought that he would thus lessen the scandal of his marriage with Jane Seymour, within twenty-four hours after the death of his former wife, and while her blood was yet wet upon the scaffold to which he had consigned her.²

It is a relief to turn from these scenes to the more manly, if not less tragic, events preparing in the North of England.

* * *

¹ "And the same day in the afternoone at a solemne courte kept at Lambeth by the Lorde Archbischoppe of Canterburie and the Doctors of the law the Kyng was divorced from his wife Queene Anne; and there, at the same courte, was a privie contract approved (proven) that she *had made to the Earl of Northumberland* afore the Kynges tyme, and so she was discharged and was never lawfull Queene of Englande, and then it was approved the same."—*Wriothesley Chronicle*.

In the absence of documentary evidence a wide field of conjecture opens out to the historical student, but perhaps the sturdy old Fuller's common-sense solution is nearer the mark than all the theories of ingenious investigators. He says: "No particular cause is specified in that sentence still extant with record; and though the judge and court seemed abundantly satisfied in the reason of this nullitie, yet, concealing the same with themselves, they thought not fit to communicate this treasure to posterity, *except they shut their coffers on purpose because there was nothing in them.*"—*Church History*, p. 207. The terms divorce and annulment are used indiscriminately throughout these proceedings.

² Mr. Froude can see in this revolting act of indecency nothing but a meritorious desire on the part of his hero to sacrifice himself to a sense of national duty; an opinion which, he thinks, cannot be questioned, since the statement is recorded in the preamble of an Act of Parliament. *Was gedruckt ist, ist wahr.* He ignores the fact that the King's passion for his wife's lady-in-waiting had previously become a matter of notoriety.

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The insurrection known as the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, was the first popular remonstrance on a large scale¹ against the Reformation. Purely ecclesiastic in its origin, the movement assumed a different character in its rapid course of development. On the suppression of the religious houses, the dispossessed brethren wandered from village to village and from town to town appealing to the devotion and pity of the populace. Heresy and sacrilege were then words of fearful import; and it was with these words upon their lips that abbots and friars protested against the law under which the true faith and its ministers were persecuted and proscribed, the ancient altars overthrown, and that God's vice-gerent on earth was displaced in favour of a temporal sovereign better known for his amours than for his piety.

The rude and warlike people of the north were deeply attached to the Church of their forefathers, and exceptionally amenable to the influence of the priesthood,² to whom it was not difficult to persuade them that the enemies of their religion had ultimate designs against their liberties and possessions, and that the confiscation of Church property was but the prelude to encroachments upon popular rights and privileges, and to increased taxation.³

The suppression of monastic establishments was,

¹ The previous outbreak in Lincolnshire arising from the same causes, had been so easily repressed, that it hardly merits the name of an insurrection.

² Hall describes them as: "Knowing not what religion meant, but altogether nose-led in superstitions and popery."

³ Rumours were industriously circulated that fees were to be exacted by the State on all christenings and weddings, and the performance of divine service; that the implements of husbandry were to be subject to a heavy tax; that none under the rank of gentlemen should be allowed to eat wheaten bread, and that the common lands all over England were to be confiscated to the Crown and inclosed.—See *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st series, No. 421. Record Office.

moreover, a material as well as a sentimental grievance ; A.D. 1536
 for the members of those houses, independently of their spiritual functions, performed many and important duties for the benefit of the communities among which they lived. Versed in the transaction of business and monetary matters, they acted as legal advisers, arbitrators, accountants, bankers, and scriveners. They cultivated the study of medicine sufficiently for domestic wants. They were frequently appointed executors and trustees under testamentary dispositions, and guardians of the young. Education was exclusively in their hands ; and the exercise of a wide hospitality and of liberal almsgiving, was alike congenial to their tastes and habits, and conducive to their interests. If we were to imagine the effect, in the present day, of a simultaneous closing of all chapels, schools, unions, almshouses, hospitals and taverns throughout England, we should perhaps little more than realize the immediate condition induced by King Henry's first step towards the Reformation.

In the loss of so much to which they had been long accustomed, and for which no other machinery was substituted, the people seem to have forgotten the greed and rapacity, the profligacy and corruption, which notoriously characterised the monastic orders, and to have remembered only the good acts and useful services they had rendered.

The agitation thus set on foot by the persecuted churchmen quickly spread among the masses, and working its way upwards gradually permeated all classes of society, even to the highest, among the population of the north.

The first beacon fires were lighted, as the signal of opposition and the call to arms, early in October, and before the end of that month there was hardly a noble or gentle family in Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland,

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Westmorland or Cumberland, that did not count its representatives in the ranks of the Insurgent forces. Although the fierceness of the epidemic was confined to the Northern Provinces, traces of it were to be met with in all parts of the kingdom, and the infection had spread even among Henry's highest and most trusted counsellors.

Shrewsbury, to whose active zeal the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace was ultimately due, was at first, and not unreasonably perhaps, believed to have lent a favourable ear to the popular demands ; and Norfolk had so strongly sympathised with the cause that, on its collapse, prudence induced him to atone for the suspicion of something worse than lukewarmness in the King's service, by exceptional zeal and severity in the punishment of the rebels.¹ The remonstrances which the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham addressed to the Insurgents were pitched in very faint tones ; while, on the part of many of the leading gentlemen of the counties, there was barely a decent show of resistance when they were clamorously urged to place themselves at the head of the armed Commons.²

In Robert Aske the malcontents had found a brave and an honest leader. He was a gentleman of good Yorkshire family, strongly attached to the ancient faith. With the courage of his convictions he combined the virtues of truthfulness and firmness of purpose, and the soldier-like qualities of indomitable energy and

¹ He had notoriously been at the head of the papal party at Court, and it probably chimed in with Henry's grim humour to select him as the instrument for chastising the English champions of the Church of Rome.

² "I do conjecture that the gentlemen have been rather contented to wyneke than to prepare any resistance." Sir Ralph Sadler to Cromwell, January 23, 1517. *State Papers*. Other of the King's agents reported in similar terms as to the widespread sympathy with the insurgents among the higher ranks in the north.

prompt decision. He had the faculty of inspiring confidence among all who came in contact with him; and having unhesitatingly accepted the position imposed upon him by the spontaneous choice of the people, he held his life cheap in a cause which he conscientiously believed to be a holy and a righteous one. Fortunately for human progress, the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace were not all of the stamp of Robert Aske.

In an incredibly short space of time a few bands of angry priests, followed by an ill-armed mob of peasants and mechanics, were transformed into an organized army, numbering many thousand men. The Northerners, however, warlike as they were by training and instinct, had been too long accustomed to be led and commanded by their immediate lords, to become easily amenable to general discipline, and Aske recognized the necessity of enlisting in his cause the direct influence of the ruling families of the North.

In many cases the spectacle of an outraged and oppressed Church sufficed to bring these to his banners; in others a display of coercion, and even actual violence, were required to overcome real or affected scruples; ¹ but in no case on record did those who had once joined, whether voluntarily, by persuasion, or by compulsion, recede from their position, until the conclusion of negotiations broke up the combination, and relieved them of their allegiance to the cause.

Lord Darcy had grown grey in the military service of the state. On the first symptoms of disturbances he had warned the King to cause all his officers in the north to be at their posts with sufficient garrisons: when the

¹ The extent to which Aske, in his recruiting operations among the nobles and gentlemen of the north, resorted to coercion, is indicated by the expression generally employed by the insurgents to denote the adhesion of new recruits to their cause: "They have been taken by the Commons."

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Commons came to Pomfret Castle he closed the gates against them, and he defied them when they threatened him with "spoyling" and death. Yet, after a personal interview with Aske he unhesitatingly took the oath, to which every member of the Pilgrimage of Grace was required to subscribe, and thenceforward became conspicuous as a leader of the rebellion.

This introduction of the military and aristocratic element served to convert a religious agitation into a revolution. The sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, which Aske had originally unfurled as the emblem of the true faith, now represented not alone the supremacy of the Pope, and the rights of his Church in England; but side by side with these, the claim of the ancient nobility to be restored to their place in the royal council, which "base born men" had usurped, and demands for guarantees for the liberties of the people.

Never, perhaps, was there a rising which, with fervent professions of loyalty to the person of the Sovereign, so equally combined against his authority the united forces of ecclesiastic, aristocratic, and popular influence.¹

The story of the insurrection in its successive stages cannot be better told than by the testimony of the actors

¹ The successive changes which, in the course of its development, passed over the movement, are very remarkable. That "the Commons" while making themselves the champions of the Church should have pleaded their own cause, is intelligible; not so are their remonstrances against the exaltation of "villians' blood." In their complaints (with reference to Wolsey and Cromwell) that the shambles and the blacksmith's forge had furnished the King with counsellors, we trace the under-current of aristocratic influence that was at once the strength and the weakness of Aske's rebellion. Its strength, by the discipline and cohesion introduced into the forces employed; its weakness, because the introduction of the political element served to divert and to lessen that general sympathy which would have attached to a purely religious agitation, and to detract from the sacred character it had professed. The apathy displayed in the south of England would appear to have been largely due to this cause.

themselves, among whom none played a more conspicuous part than Sir Thomas Percy. A.D. 1536

His disaffection was attributed to the King's refusal to allow him to be declared his brother's heir;¹ but by his own showing, fully corroborated by the evidence of others, he was led into complicity with the insurgents by the accident of his birth and his personal popularity; by his acknowledged sympathy with the Church of Rome,² and by the reliance which the priesthood placed in his will and power to aid them. His naturally adventurous and aggressive spirit may likewise have contributed to his assumption of chieftainship in an armed demonstration.

A document entitled "A Brief Remembrance of the Demeanour of Sir Thomas Percy, Knight, in the county of Northumberland, in the time of the late rebellion in 1536,"³ sets forth in circumstantial detail the various offences attributed to him as an insurgent chief, from the first outbreak early in October, to the general pardon granted in the following December, and again

¹ "The Earl of Northumberland's brother has joined the Commons with 30,000 men; he wanted lately to be declared the Earl's heir; the King made difficulties, and he now means to be revenged."—*From a letter from the Spanish Ambassador in England to the Regent of the Low Countries, in the Archives of Brussels.* It would thus appear that the Act of Parliament of 1472 legalising the restoration of the fourth earl had limited the succession to the direct issue of the holders of the earldom without remainder to collaterals. This is confirmed by a passage in the Earl's letter to Cromwell, dated February 2nd, 1537, (see *postea*, p. 471), in which he refers to the King having granted him license to appoint any one he pleased of his blood and name, to be his heir and successor.

² From the first, the dispossessed monastics had addressed themselves to Sir Thomas Percy and to the old Countess of Northumberland, rather than to the Earl, who may either have been indifferent to the religious question or in favour of the King's policy. The Percies had founded or endowed so many religious houses in bygone times, that they had as a rule come to be looked upon as the natural guardians of Church property in the North.—See Letter from the Abbot of Salley to Sir Thomas Percy, Appendix LI.

³ Appendix LII., part i.

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during the renewed rising under Bigod. We are here told :

"How the said Sir Thomas Percy behaved himself in Yorkshire in setting forward, as much as in him was, the East Riding there, and with such number as he could make ; how gorgeously he rode through the King's Highness' city of York in complete harness, with feathers trimmed as well as he might deck himself at that time, which did show well he did nothing constrained ; but of a willing malicious stomach against his most natural and dread Sovereign Lord ; and what writings he made in his name upon pain of death, as divers placards, precepts and others, signed with his hand, and made entry into lands belonging to other the King's Highness' true subjects. And how many acts he there did against his duty of allegiance, the whole country there can bear witness."

The succeeding articles recite how he allowed the outlaws, and other notable offenders of Tyndale and Hexham, to resort to him, "treating them as familiarly as if they were his household servants ;" how he continued to hold musters, and perform other duties connected with his office of Vice-Warden of the Middle Marches, although his brother, the Earl, had removed him from that post ; how he had extorted money, by threats and violence, from John Ogle, of Ogle Castle, and Sir Reginald Carnaby, and compelled peace-loving citizens to join the insurgents, with other offences fully described.

Sir Ingelram Percy, though possessed of less personal influence, took an equally conspicuous part in the insurrection.* He had been dismissed from the Vice Wardenship of the East Marches some months before the outbreak ; but, like his brother, he now reassumed

* See Appendix LII., part ii.

the duties of that office, and summoned the gentlemen of Northumberland and their followers to meet him at Alnwick Castle, where he required them to take the oath of allegiance to Aske; "and notwithstanding divers and many persuasions made to him to the contrary by the gentlemen there, that did their faithful duty to their most dread sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, yet, say what they would, no remedy,—but all these must swear or else do worse . . . and being enclosed in the said Castle, will they or not, sworn they were."

A.D. 1536

He is further accused of having spoken "such malicious words as were abominable to any true men to hear; among others, having expressed a wish that Cromwell might 'be hanged as high as he might look unto; and that if he were there present, as he wished to God he were, he would put his sword in his belly.'"

Acts of overt rebellion and violence committed by him are recorded, and when negotiations were opened he appears to have formed a just estimate of Norfolk's sincerity, and to have thoroughly mistrusted the promises made by him in the King's name.

The deposition of Sir Thomas Percy, when examined by the council in February 1537, is so honest and complete, and presents so graphic a picture of the actual events, that it deserves to be quoted in full:

EXAMINATION OF SIR THOMAS PERCY.¹

"Sir Thomas Percy, Knight, examined, saith as hereafter doth ensue.

"To the first article he saith that being at my Lady's house, his mother, in Yorkshire, he heard by a noise going

"10 FEBR.
anno et loco
supradictis.
How he
heard of

¹ *S. P. Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, Nos. 408—
and 774.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537
the first insurrection in
Linc. by a
common
rumour.

Aske first
stirred at
Holden &
Wressill.

Aske's
saying for
having of a
Percy to be
captain.

Enquiry
made for Sir
Thomas
Percy.

The place
where the
Commons
were then
assembled.

abroad, and can remember no person by name that he should hear it of else, that they were up in Lincolnshire; but at the first neither he nor any other there did believe the same. And within three days after he heard (as he doth remember) of one Stringer, that brought a tegg from Wresill to my said Lady, his mother, that Aske had been at Wresill and Holden and there stirred up all the Commons, and cried at the gates of Wressill (as the said Stringer reported): 'Thousands for a Percy.' Then within a day or twain after, this Examine prepared himself to avoid and to steal away from his said mother's house, home to his own house, and took with him but a man or two, and his boy. And because he would not be known, he took one of his servants coats on him, and led his mail horse himself. And being two or three miles in his way he met with two men, wherof the one was called Percey, a man with a red face,¹ who asked this Examine whether he knew where Sir Thomas was? And this Examine answered him that he heard say that he was at my Lady his mother's. Then said the said Percy to this Examine, that the Commons were then assembled at Malton, and that they had laid watch in every town to take Sir Thomas Percy. And they said they would have him by noon, or else they would leave my Lady his mother never a penny or pennyworth of goods. Which, this Examine hearing, returned by and by to his said mother's house to Semer

¹ This is confirmed by Sir Stephen Hamerton, who, in his deposition, states that they had "met one William Percy of Ryton, riding past crying, 'Forward every man!'"—*Papers relating to Aske's Rebellion. Record Office. A. 2. 5.* The Percies of Riton were a distant branch of the ruling family. A William Percy-Hay of Riton was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1376; they were now the owners of a considerable estate, of which Camden says: "More beneath, hard by the river (Rhie) side, standeth Riton, an antient possession of the antient family of the Percy-Hays, commonly called Percy's."—*Britannia* vol. iii. p. 20.

again. And then he shewed my Lady his mother that he was stopped so that he could not pass home, whereupon she wept and sore lamented. And about two of the clock at after noon came a great many of the Commons, with three or four gentlemen that were Captains, wherof one was named Preston, of the other he knew not the names. And the gentlemen entered in to the house by and by without any resistance and inquired for this Examine, who came forth to them to the Great Chamber. Where Preston aforesaid declared unto him how that the Commons, in a great number, were assembled about a thing that should be for the weal of us all (said he). And there be with them my Lord Latimer, my Lord Nevill, Mr. Danby, Mr. Bowes and divers other gentlemen. And we are come to fetch you unto them, and to swear you to take such part as we do. And this Examine asked what oath should that be? And the said Preston read unto him the same oath, which this Examine said he was content to take, and so was sworn. Then they appointed this Examine to be on the morrow with them at the Wold beyond Spyttell. And so he did, with a dozen or sixteen persons in his company, where there were within a while after upon a three or four thousand men assembled. And from thence they went to Mr. Chamleys, and on the morrow spoiled his house and his goods because he was required before to come to them and would not. And, because this Examine would have stayed them from that spoil, they cried: 'Strike off his head, for he will but betray us,' and we will have another Captain (said they). Then this Examine desired that he might go that night to my Lady his mother's, for she had heard that he was killed amongst them, and therefore was desirous to see him. And thither he went, and tarried there the next day. From thence he went to Malton to the Mowster

A.D. 1536

Sir Thomas
Percy's first
taking.

The notable
personages
assembled
ere Sir T.
Percy came
in.

Here was
Sir T. Percy
sworn.

His first
coming in to
the Rebels.
Chamley's
spoil.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

Assembled
at Malton.
Sir Nicholas

Farfax
coming in.
Command-
ments given
by Aske to
this exam-
inate and
his company
to march
forward to
divers
places.

Hull won.

Pomfret
won.

Counsel
taken at
Pomfret.

My Lord
Darcy's
counsel for
watching of
Ferybridge.

there. Where as he sent for Sir Nicholas Farfox (Fairfax) and was come thither. And there as he thinks were assembled upon a ten thousand men. And going from thence toward York by Aske's and other gentlemen's comandment to besiege the same, received a counter-mandment from the said Aske, saying that York was won, and commanding this Examine and his company to go toward Hull to help them that were there besieging the same. Whereupon they went thitherward. And as they were at Semer, that night about midnight came word unto them that Hull was also won, and on the morrow they received a commandment from Aske to set forward towards Pomfret. And thither they came where they perceived that the same was also won, before they came thither, by Aske and his company. And on the morrow came thither my Lord Nevill and Mr. Bowes, with a three or four thousand men out of the Bishoprick. And as soon as the Bishoprick was come, (my Lord Darcy being then at dinner in the Castle) Aske came in with the gentlemen of the Bishoprick with him, and brought them to my said Lord Darcy. Which as soon as he saw them rose from his dinner and gat him to a window. And there he and Robert Aske together called unto them my Lord Nevill, Mr. Bowes, Roger Lassels, S^r Robert Constable, Sir Ralph Ellerker the younger, Rudston, this examine and other more. And there my Lord Darcy first declared them that, forasmuch as he had heard say that my Lord of Norfolk, and my Lord of Shrewsbury, were marching forward towards them, it was expedient, because Fery bridge was a straight passage, that they should send thither certain to watch the same that night and to keep it from the other party. And thought best that the Bishoprick should go thither and watch it. Then Mr. Bowes answered, that they of the Bishoprick were come

LORD DARCY.

thither but lately, and both they and their horses were weary, wherefore he desired that they might be excused for that night from going thither. Whereupon all they concluded to send this examine and his company, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir William Constable, and the said Rudston, with their companies, being in the whole about the number of four thousand men, to Fery bridge aforesaid. And there they kept watch for that night. And on the morrow came all the rest of the host to them save only my Lord Darcy and my Lord Archbishop of York, with their own retinue which were left in Pomfret Castle. And the same day they went from Fery bridge to a little nunnery beyond Doncaster, besides Robin Hood's Cross, and there kept the field all that night. And on the morrow came about a thirty horsemen from Doncaster (by likelyhood) to view their company, and took up two fellows that were straying abroad. Whereupon the whole host of the northside pursued after them and rescued the said two persons. And as he saith the Lord Darcy and my Lord of York were left at Pomfret for their ease, because they should not lie forth that night as the other did, but they were appointed to be with the host on the morrow, and came other on the morrow, or the next day after, unto them to the field against Doncaster. And here began the treaty between both parties.

" Being examined what causes were alleged of the same insurrection saith, it was for maintaining of the rights of the church, for holding up of Abbeyes that should be suppressed, and for maintaining of old usages and customs as were used before time, and for the statute of vses for ingressum takings. Also there were communication among them, that there should be money paid for christening and for every plough and divers other things.

A.D. 1536

The first enterers to Ferybridge.

Coming of the whole host to Ferybridge.

Their coming besides Doncaster.

A skirmish.

My Lord Darcy's and my Lord of York's coming to them. Causes alleged for the insurrection.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D. 1502-1537
Captains. "And the chief ringleader was Aske, and he coulde not perceive but that all the other gentlemen were willing enough in that matter. And my Lord Darcy was also very earnest in the matter before other.

Aid of towns. "And saith that every town found certain men, and the gentlemen went of their own costs.

Aid had of abbeys. "Also this deponent had of the Abbot of Saint Mary Abbey 20 nobles upon this Examine's request, saying that he lacked money to find his men, And saith that Sir Nicholas Farfox and Sir Oswald Wolsethorpe had been with him before, and as he thinks Master Farfox was pleased with him, And because Sir Oswald Wolsethorpe caused afterward the Abbot aforesaid to come forward with his Cross, before the Commons through the City of York, which as he saith went with a very ill will, this Examine thought that the said Sir Oswald had not been well pleased by the Abbot. And afterward this Examine bade the Abbot steal away from them, and so he did as soon as they were at the Town's end, leaving his Cross behind him. Also he saith that the Abbot of Whitby sent to this Examine, and at his request, saying that their going forth was for their cause, four or five marks and an ambling nag, Also he sent for a gelding to Watton Abbey and had it.

"And of any other money, messages, or letters sent to any man, he knoweth not.

A rumour of my Lord of Derby. "And examined what comfort they had out of the South partes, saith that there was a bruit among the Commons that my Lord of Derby would take their part, but he heard that of no notable person, as he saith, that he can tell the name of.

The end of their purpose. "And examined how far they intended to have gone and what the end of their purpose was, saith that they thought to have come toward London and to take up the country by the way; and afterward to have spoken

OBJECT OF THE INSURGENTS.

with the King, and to sue to his grace, to have certain Statutes revoked, and to have them punished that were the causes of the making therof; which he heard in no council but by a common bruit that went abroad amongst the Commons.

A.D. 1536

"Also he saith that the Commons, both at York and also at Pomfret, called this Examine Lord Percy, and he, examined whether he had procured any of them so to do, saith no, but withstood them as much as he could therin, and prayed them that they would not call him so. And so lighted off his horse, and took off his cap and desired them that they would not so say, for he said that the same would turn him but to displeasure."

This
examine
proclaimed
Lord
Percy."

It will be noticed how throughout these confessions, while fully admitting his own complicity, Sir Thomas Percy is careful to shield and to exonerate his mother, whose sympathy with the cause was evidently tempered by apprehensions for her son's safety.

Of the brother who had dismissed him from his offices he makes no mention, but the two would appear to have been on unfriendly terms for some time before the outbreak.

The deposition of William Stapleton admits us to the poor Earl's bedside at Wressil, where he lay "racked with pains and sick unto death," while Aske was vainly urging every plea, and using persuasion and threats, to induce him to join the insurgents, or, at the least, to lend the sanction of his name to the acts of his rebellious brothers. Stapleton^{*} was an intimate friend and brother barrister

^{*} "The true confession of William Stapleton of the attempts committed and done by him against the King's Highness and his laws.—*Exchequer Miscellaneous Papers*, A 28 p. 167, Record Office. He came of an ancient and honourable northern family, being a direct descendant of Sir Miles Stapleton, one of the Knights Founders of the Garter, who was sheriff of York in 1356.

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of Aske; he had taken the oath at Doncaster, but being summoned to attend the Earl of Northumberland, whose tenant he was, he appeared at Wressil Castle,

“where Aske was above with my Lord, moving him to be good to his brother, and to make him his Lieutenant of the one March, and Sir Ingram of the other; which in no wise my Lord would grant that Sir Thomas should have any meddling under him; and for that night departed to the chamber where the said Sir Thomas and Aske lay together. And the said William, after their departure, sent to my Lord to know his pleasure, in that he was comen to see his Lordship, who sent up for the said William, where he saw the said Lord lying in his bed. And when he saw the said William, he fell in weeping, ever wishing himself out of the world, which the said William was sore to see. And for that night the said William departed to his lodging in the Town, at one Humfleyes; after which, the morrow, after mass and breakfast, Aske went to my Lord with his labours again, but my Lord was in the same mind that he was before. Then Aske moved my Lord if he would be contented with that he and the Lords would do; and what by the great importunacy of Aske, and for fear, he did thereunto agree, but he would in no wise see the said Sir Thomas, wherewith the said William was half angry with my Lord, seeing what danger he was in; for it was openly spoken of the field, ‘Strike off the head of the Earl, and make Sir Thomas Earl,’ whereof the said William was sore afraid. Also Sir Thomas Hilton axed the said William where my Lord was, saying, ‘He is now crept into a corner, and dare not shew himself; he hath made a meynye of knaves gentlemen, to whom he had disposed much of his living, and able now to do nought himself;’ all which

words the said William opened to my said Lord, desiring him to speak with Sir Thomas for fear of the worst. And at that and all other times he was very earnest against the Commons [in] the King's behalf, and my Lord Privy Seal's,¹ which then w[as] very dangerous, in that the Commons did ever rail against the said Lord Privy Seal; and when the said William did open the dangers to him, *he ever said, he did not care, he should die but once; let them strike off his head, wherein they should rid him of much pain;* ever saying he would [he were] dead; and in the same mind he was at his lying at York, wherewith oftentimes they fell out. And so Aske and Master Percy departed: Aske that night to Beverley, and the morrow to Hull, as he said, and would have had the said William with him, but he would not; and Master Percy to Seymer, to my Lady his mother, the morrow after towards Northumberland as he said, and the said William to his brother's house."

Neither threats nor persuasion could shake the Earl's resolution as he lay there sick unto death, abandoned by his family, friends, and servants, while an armed mob, led by his brother, was shouting for his head. One attached retainer, "upon such danger as he saw his lord in, as aforesaid, moved him for avoiding of the same, to shew himself amongst the Commons, after which he might sit still at home without further danger;"² but no! he would shew himself to no rebels, do what they would. He would welcome death as a happy release; he would not betray his trust: "Let them strike, it would rid him of his pain."

The pain of "that long disease, his life;" a loveless, childless life, embittered by many an unmerited humiliation,—by domestic sorrows, pecuniary anxieties, constant

¹ Cromwell.² Stapleton.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

physical suffering, and now, perhaps, haunted by the vision of a once-loved face, which but a few weeks since had turned to him, as he sat in judgment, piteously pleading, and pleading in vain, for justice, for mercy, for life!

The garrison of Wressill had gone over to the rebels; and Aske, having taken possession of the castle, and fearing that the Earl incurred serious danger by his uncompromising attitude, sent him under escort to York as soon as he was able to move from his sick bed.

This unwavering loyalty, however, did not suffice to avert the malice of his enemies, who now charged him with having treasonably surrendered the castle, and contributed silver plate towards the maintenance of the insurgents.

The document containing these accusations is so mutilated¹ that only its general purport can be gathered; but there seems to be little doubt that Shrewsbury and Dacre, who had taken part with the Countess of Northumberland against her husband, were the authors of the calumny.

In order, as he informs the King, to discover "in what case the said Erle of Northumberland and countrye there standyth,"² Shrewsbury had sent one of his servants to Wressill on pretence of requiring a reply to the following letter:

"My very good Lord, I trust it be not out of your good remembrance, the promise by your good Lordship made vnto my son Frances and Maister Holmes, that I should have yearly of your Lordship two hundred marks for my Lady your wife her finding. And truth it is that

¹ Appendix LIII.

² Earl of Shrewsbury to the King, November 12, 1536.—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, 695.

UNJUST SUSPICIONS.

she hath been with me two years complete, and as much as such on Ladyes Day the nativitie last passed. And I have not received one penny towards her finding, but only such stuff as your Lordship sent unto her. Wherefore I desire you according to your said promise to send unto me, by my chaplain Sir John Moreton, this bearer, the said money which draweth above three hundred marks, the said stuff abated, for now I have great need therof; or else that it will please you to make me sure assignment where I may have undelayed payment of the same. For where you assigned me the last year I could have never a penny paid, for it was received to your use before, and therefore good my Lorde either send unto me the said money by my said chaplain, or else what I shall assuredly trust to, and our Lord send unto you good life. Written at Wynfell the vth day of November.”¹

A.D. 1536
—

In his answer to this letter Northumberland reminds his father-in-law that as his daughter's promised dower had remained unpaid he had no cause for complaint on the score of her allowance being in arrears.² At the same time he writes to Cromwell to exonerate himself from the charge of complicity in the rebellion brought against him, at a moment when he was risking his life in the King's service.³

It does not appear, however, that these accusations

¹ Earl of Shrewsbury to Earl of Northumberland, November 5, 1536. —*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, No. 695. The spelling has been modernised.

² The sum claimed by Lord Shrewsbury is found in the schedule of debts left by the Earl at his decease.

³ The “declaration” states that the Earl had voluntarily given the insurgents his “spice-plate;” but Harry Guyall, the sub-prior of Wressil monastery, deposed in the course of his examination that, “Sir Robert Aske had from them a spice-plate of silver (which was a pledge of the Earl of Northumberland) upon the said Aske's letters, threatening to have done them worse harm, if they had not sent him the same.”

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had been seriously entertained, or that the slightest suspicion against him had been aroused in the mind of the King.

In the meantime the rebellion had made rapid strides, and the military preparations for its suppression proved so inadequate, that Henry must have recognised how greatly he had hitherto under-estimated the character of the forces arrayed against him.¹

By the middle of November, Aske found himself at the head of nearly thirty-five thousand men "well tried on horseback." Among their leaders we find the names of Nevill, Lumley, Latimer, and Scrope; of Percy,² Fairfax, Danby, Constable, Bulmer, Norton, Markynfelde, and Tempest.³ Lancaster Herald, despatched by the King with a proclamation to the people of the north, was refused a hearing; ⁴ and Norfolk, whose courage was above suspicion, but who was little disposed to risk his military reputation in a hopeless conflict with vastly superior numbers, determined to gain time by negotiation. Commissioners were accordingly named on both sides, each of the northern counties being represented by Aske's nominees. Sir Thomas Percy was one of the two delegates for Northumberland.⁵

¹ On October 9, he had written to Lord Darcy: "We doubt not but this *little business begun in Northumberland* is by this time so repressed that the semblable will not eftsoones be attempted."—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion. 1st Series, No. 382, p. 9.

² Sir Thomas Percy was appointed to the command of the vanguard, composed of six thousand men, mostly mounted, and bearing the banner of St. Cuthbert. Constable who served under him says, "We were 30,000 men, all tall men, well horsed, and well appointed as any men could be."

³ All of which names re-appear thirty-five years later in the Rising of the North.

⁴ He was subsequently executed by the King's orders for alleged neglect of duty on this occasion.

⁵ "November, 1536. The order taken at York. First it is agreed a meeting to be betwixt the Duke of Norfolk, and the Baronage, and the Commonalty of the north parts of the north side of Doncaster, in

Norfolk professed his willingness to make ample concessions to the insurgents: these promises cost him little since he had fully determined to break them¹ on the first favourable opportunity. He now conveyed to Aske and Lord Darcy the King's invitation that they should repair to the court and personally state their grievances, and the remedies proposed.

Lord Darcy knew Norfolk too well to be deluded² by fair words, nor was he disposed to place himself in the King's power; but Aske was graciously received, and returned to the north with royal assurances of good will, and promises that the demands of the Commons should be indulgently considered.

Suffolk was at the same time despatched to the north with a large army, and with full powers of compromise and pardon, which in his case the King promised to ratify.³ It is clear, however, that he had no intention of doing so. His object was to disarm rebellion, to cause

such places as shall be appointed in Pontefract. Then the number of 300 of either party in their defensive array, to be appointed of all the north parts and countries. . . . Then Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Cuthbert Radcliff, and Sir John Wetherington, for Northumberland."—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, No. 891.

¹ The King, when the time for reprisals came round, reproached Norfolk with his want of vigour, and reminded him of his boast, "that you wold esteeme no promyse that you should make to the rebelles, ne think your honour touched in the breach and violation of the same."—*State Papers*.

² While Aske was on a visit with Darcy at Templehurst, Norfolk had written to the latter urging him to surrender his guest, "quick or dead, but, if possible, alive;" to which proposition the old soldier indignantly replied: "Alas! my lord, that you, being a man of so great honour should advise or choose me to betray any living man, Frenchman, Scot, ay even Turk, to win, for me or mine heirs, the best duke's lands that be in France. I would do it for no living person!"—*Ibid.*

³ "You may of your honour promise them not only to obtain their pardons but also that they shall find me good and gracious lord unto them as ever we were before this matter was attempted, which promise we shall perform and accomplish without exception."—King Henry to Suffolk, December 2, 1536, *Chapter-House Papers*, 1st Series, 476.

A.D.
1502-1537

the formidable forces collected to be disbanded and scattered, and then—to strike.

Robert Aske, although he had shown himself ready and anxious to come to terms, and to avoid bloodshed, was by no means disposed to forego the fruits of his agitation; and now, seeing reason to doubt the sincerity of the King's professions, he thus honestly and boldly remonstrates against any attempt at evasion of the royal promises:

"I besech your Grace to pardon me in this my rude letter and plainness of the same; for I do utter my poor heart to your Grace to the intent your Highness may perceive the danger that may come; for on my faith I do greatly fear the end to be only by battle."

By this time garrisons and ordnance had been poured into the northern strongholds; and the proclamation of a general pardon to all who would submit to the King's grace, together with ample promises of redress, induced most of the insurgents to return to their homes. By the middle of December the banner of St. Cuthbert was furled, and the Pilgrimage of Grace was at an end.

When, however, in the following January the Royal Commissioners, ignoring the stipulated concessions, required a subscription to an oath binding the people not only to accept and obey, but to approve, all the existing statutes, the operation of which had been the cause of the rising, the discontent broke out anew.¹ Sir Francis Bigod appeared in arms with a following of 500 men, and issued a proclamation charging the King and his Lieutenant with having duped the people by false promises, and been guilty of gross breach of faith.

In his subsequent deposition he states that he had "written a letter to the old Lady of Northumberland

¹ "The King hath given us the faucet and kept the spigot."—Confession of George Lumley.

that she would send to her son Sir Thomas Percy, to come forward to be Captain of the Commons in Yorkshire, on their going forward against the Duke of Norfolk," whom he designed to capture.'

A careful study of the large mass of documents relating to this period, fails to furnish any evidence of the complicity of Aske, Darcy, Thomas Percy, and other of the leaders of the original insurrection, in the second outbreak. Sir Thomas Percy's popularity caused him as before to be appealed to by the abbots and the discontented Commons, and suspicion thus attached to him as one of the leaders; but so far from taking an active part in Bigod's rising, he appears to have held himself studiously aloof.

George Lumley, in his deposition calls him "the lock, key, and wards" of the second outbreak; but on being asked his reasons for thus describing him, could only state that he had "*heard the people say*, when he moved them to rise at no mans calling but at *his*, that they would rise at no mans, but either at his calling, or Sir Thomas Percy;" . . . that in a town between York and Bolton Castle where he baited, he *heard* that "the country there was ready to rise again if Sir Thomas Percy would have set forward, for they trusted him before any other man, . . . and *because at the first insurrection* the people were more glad to rise with him than with any other, and there proclaimed him twice Lord Percy, and showed such affection towards none other man that he knew. And because he was the last of the Percy's that were left, next to my lord of Northumberland, 'and no other causes, saith he, that moved him to say so of Sir Thomas Percy.'" ² Against this loose testimony, resting

¹ *S. P. Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, 416, Record Office.

² Confession of George Lumley, son and heir of Lord Lumley, *S. P.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, No. 421, *ibid.*

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

Of Bigod's
commotion.
Of his letter
sent by
Hawkins to
this
examine.
Mine old
Lady of
Northum-
berland's
words sent
to this
examine.
Bigod's
letter and
offer made
to this
examine
if he would
rise again.

The said
letter's
redelivery.
Hawkins
the
messenger's
words to this
examine.

The parson
of Leken-
feld's words
from Bygod
to this
examine.

entirely upon inference and rumour, we have Percy's own confession of his share in the matter.

"As touching the second insurrection of Sir Francis Bigod, he saith that he heard no word thereof but by a letter, which Sir Francis Bigod sent to my Lady this examine's mother. And she sent the same to this examine by one Hawkins with these words, that this examine should take a substantial way in that matter upon her blessing, the effect of which letter was that this examine should come forward with all the Bishoprick and with as many of Northumberland as he could. And he (that is to say) S^r Francis Bigod, would put this examine in possession of all the Earl of Northumberland's lands.

"Then being further examined what he thought my Lady his mother meant by those words that he should take a substantial way in the matter, saith upon his conscience that he thought she meant by those words that he should not make any meddle in the matter And asked where the said letter is become, saith that he delivered the same, when he had read it forthwith to the said Hawkins to bring again to his mother. And enquired what words else had the said Hawkins unto him, saith that he said to this examine: look well and substantially upon it, if it touch your promotion. And this examine answered him that he would neither make nor meddle in that matter. Also he saith that the same Hawkins, time of his then being with this examine, shewed him that Sir Francis Bigod and Halom were gone toward Hull. And Mr. Lumley was gone to Scarborough to take them and keep them.

"Also he saith that the parson of Lekenfeld, being this examine's chaplain, was at Beverley the same time that Sir Francis Bigod was stirring up of the people there, which asked the said parson where is your master?"

THE SECOND RISING.

And he said at Northumberland. Then said Sir Francis Bigod: will not your Master rise and I send unto him, and do as we do? And the parson said again: no surely he will not rise for any man living, and therefore it is but folly to send unto him for that cause; which communication the said parson came and reported to this examinee (as he remembreth) before the said letter delivered unto him, or about the same day that the letter was delivered him. And as he saith the said parson had no other special errand to do with this examinee then, but that he had been so long away from this examinee, being his master, and came then to do his duty and to tell him the said communication that he had heard of him, and then this examinee defied the same Sir Francis Bigod, saying that he would not meddle with him.

A.D.
1536-1537

"And asked what was the intent of the last commotion, saith as he heard, it was to take Hull and Scarborough and to prevent my Lord of Norfolk.

The end intended by the last commotion.

"Also, he saith, that upon a month or six weeks before the receipt of the said letter, this examinee received a supplication from the Abbot of Salley, with a royal of gold in a token, which supplication remaineth in this man's house, the effect of which supplication was to desire of this examinee his counsel and his best advice as touching the putting down of his house, what should be best for him to do for the safeguard of the same, and this examinee answered him by the same messenger that brought the supplication, that he should be content with that that the King's pleasure was to be done therein, saying that there was no gentillmen in the country there that would withstand the King's pleasure, seing his grace was so good unto them as to give them pardon."

How the Abbot of Salley consulted this examinee for his house.

This examinee's answer again.

These statements are fully corroborated by the

¹ *S. P. Henry VIII.*, Northern Rebellion, 1st Series, No. 774, Record Office.

A.D.
1536-1537

evidence of Thomas Percy's servants ;¹ but his popularity and influence in the north made him dangerous, and, like Aske, Darcy and other of the most prominent actors in the late scenes, sufficed to mark him for destruction. The formality of judicial procedure was still observed ; for martial law, though efficacious enough for the punishment of the masses, did not in the case of the wealthier offenders carry the penalties of attainder and confiscation for the benefit of the Crown. Grand juries were accordingly empanelled, and the character of these tribunals may be inferred from the fact that when, in one solitary instance, the Bill was thrown out for want of evidence, the King required the names of the recalcitrant jurymen to be sent to him, in order that he might "beat out the mystery."

The time had now arrived when Norfolk was to make good his boast that he would not think his honour touched by violating his promises to the rebels.² All who had been conspicuous in the first rising were now indicted, firstly, for their treasonable participation in those events, and secondly for having, after being pardoned for those offences, once more combined to "compass and imagine to deprive the King of his royal dignity, viz. : of being on earth supreme Head of the Church of England, and to compel him to hold a parliament and convocation of the Kingdom,³ and to annul divers good laws made for the common weal of the people of England, and to depose and deprive the King of his

¹ Appendix LIV.

² "A few isolated outbreaks gave a pretext for the withdrawal of every concession. . . . The country was covered with gibbets, and whole districts were given over to military execution."—Green's *Short History*, p. 338.

³ One of the demands made by the insurgents, and in the King's name granted by Norfolk, was the institution of a parliament to be held at York.

THE REBELLION SUPPRESSED.

royal power, liberty, state, and dignity by force and danger of death." A.D. 1537

In addition to these several charges Sir Francis Bigod and George Lumley were indicted for having risen in armed rebellion against the King, "and the jury find that the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Margaret Cheyne, Stephen Hamerton, Ralph Bulmer, Robert Aske, Nicholas Tempest, James Corkerell and others" "did aid and abet the said Francis Bygod and George Lumley, in these before mentioned treasons."

In other words the original leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace were charged with having remonstrated against the gross breach of the engagement, for the fulfilment of which they had pledged themselves to their followers; and, this being insufficient to constitute the crime of treason, they were, in most cases with little or no evidence to support the charge, and in some instances in the face of direct evidence to the contrary, indicted for participation or complicity in the second rising.

Billa vera having been duly returned, the King appointed a special Commission to assemble at Westminster to go through the form of trying the prisoners. This was composed of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Sussex, Oxford, Salisbury, Essex, Rutland, Cumberland, and Wilts, Lord Beauchamp, the Lord High Admiral, and a few inferior hangers-on of the Court, who were authorized to summon petty juries through the Sheriff. The farce was played out to the end with the accustomed legal solemnity, and as a matter of course all the accused were convicted and sentenced to die the death of traitors.¹

The rebellion of the north was crushed;—as Cromwell

¹ For the form of trial see Appendix LV.

A.D.
1502-1537

expresses it "all the cankered hearts are weeded away," and the work of retribution only remained to be done. It may have been a necessary, and even a merciful, policy to act with such severity as should strike terror into the people and deter them from future combinations against the law; but the assertion hazarded by the historian in the course of his bold championship of Henry the Eighth, that "the mercy seemed to have been liberal,"² is directly contradicted by documentary evidence.

Here are the King's instructions to his Lieutenant: "*You shall cause such dreadfull execution to be doone upon a good nombre of these haubitants of euery town village and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as will by the hanging of them upp in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting up their heads and quarters in euery town great and small; which we requyre you to do without pitye or respecte, . . . and you shall without pitie cause all the Monkes and Chanons that be in any wyse faultie, to be tyed uppe without further delaye or ceremony.*"³

How zealously Norfolk carried out the royal commands may be seen on reference to the ghastly details given by contemporary chroniclers,⁴ as well as by his own letters.

Again, we are told that the usual horrors attending the execution of traitors were dispensed with, and that "wherever the scaffold becomes visible, the rope and the axe are *the sole discernible implements of death.*"⁵

¹ Cromwell to Wyatt, July 8, 1537, *S. P.*

² Froude (vol. iii. p. 218), whose narrative, says Green, is so "coloured by a love of paradox, by hero worship, and by a reckless defence of tyranny and crime, that it possesses, during this period, little or no historical value."—*Short History*, p. 324.

³ Henry VIII. to Norfolk, March, 1537, *Chapter-House Papers*, A.

⁴ See Hall, Stow, Speed, and others; also Norfolk's reports to the King and Council in the *Calendar of State Papers*.

⁵ Froude, as above.

RETRIBUTION.

Here are a few examples :—

A.D. 1537
—

"On the 25th daye of Maye, being the Friday in Whytsunweke, Sir John Bolmer and Sir Stephen Hamerton Knights, were hangid and heddyd, Nicholas Tempest Esquire, Doctor Cokerell priest, Abbot condom (quondam) of Fountens, and Dr. Pykeringe, fryer, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn and there *hanged botweld and quartered*, and their hedes set on London Bridge and diverse gates in London. . . . And the same daye Margaret Chaynery other wife to Bolmer (otherwise called Lady Bolmer) was drawn after them from the Tower of London into Smythfelde *and there brente* (burnt) according to her Judgment, God pardon her sowle. . . . She was a very fayre creature and a bewtiful." . . .

"The second daie of June being Saturdaye after Trinitie Sundaie, this yere, Sir Thomas Percy Knight, and brother to the Earl of Northumberland, was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburne, and there hangid and beheaded, and Sir Francis Bigott, (Bigod) Knight, George Lumley Esquire, sonne to the Lorde Lumley, the abbot of Gervise and the Frier of Bridlington, were *there hangid and quartered according to their judgment*¹ and their heades sett on London Bridge and other gates of London. Sir Thomas Percies bodie was buried at the Crossed Friers (Crutched Friars) besides the Tower of London."² The fate of Aske, and one of his principal accomplices, was even more terrible; they both suffered the lingering torture of hanging in

¹ The usual sentence on traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered was passed on all the prisoners (see last paragraph of Appendix LV.), and may be assumed to have been executed except when otherwise specified, as in the case of Sir Thomas Percy, who was probably spared from extreme penalties at the intercession of the Earl of Northumberland, then lingering on his death-bed.

² Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, p. 64.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

chains;¹ and the sympathy which Norfolk is known to have entertained for the cause of the insurgents makes the tone of his report of these executions the more repulsive:—

“On Fridaye, being market daye at Hull, Robert Constable suffred and dothe hange above the highest gate of the toun. *so trymmed in cheynes*, as this berer can show, that I thinke his boones will hange there this hundreth yere; and on Thursdaye, which shall be market daye, *God willing*, I wolle be at the execucion of Aske at Yourke.”²

In further proof of Henry's clemency the historian informs us, that the forfeited properties were allowed to descend without diminution “in their natural order;” as an instance of which magnanimity it is stated that “Sir Thomas Percy's eldest son inherited the earldom of Northumberland.”

This solitary illustration of the alleged fact is an unfortunate one. So far from the young Percy having been permitted to enjoy his inheritance, the title remained in abeyance, and the family estates in possession of the Crown, not only during the whole of Henry's reign, but during that of his successor; and were not finally restored until on the reversion of the attainder by Queen Mary, at which time Henry VIII. had been eighteen years in his grave.³

How little in other cases the King was willing to forego

¹ “Also the Lord Hussey was beheaded at Lyncolne, and Sir Robert Constable was hanged at Hull, in Yorkshire in chains. Aske was hanged in the citie of Yorke in chaines *till he died*.”—*Ibid.* p. 65.

² Norfolk to the King, *S. P.*

³ In like manner the attainder and forfeitures of Lord Darcy and Lord Hussey remained in force throughout Henry's reign; in the former case the restoration took place in the 2nd Edward VI. and in the latter, partially, in the 5th Elizabeth. Indeed, I have been unable to discover a single exception to the full exercise of his powers of confiscation by Henry VIII., in connection with this rebellion.

his claim to confiscated lands can be gathered from this passage in his letter to Norfolk above quoted :— A.D. 1537

“We desire and pray you to have good respect to the conservation of the lands and goods of all such as shall be now attainted ; that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we shall feel so disposed, to such persons as have truly served us ; for we be informed that there were amongst them divers freeholders, and such men, whose lands and goods, well looked into, will reward others well, that with their truth have deserved the same.”

The Earl of Northumberland would appear to have been on unfriendly terms with his two brothers some time before the outbreak of Aske's rebellion, and to have been greatly incensed at their active participation in that movement. He probably knew the King well enough to feel assured that they had sinned too deeply for forgiveness ; and that an early opportunity would be taken to exempt them from the terms of the general pardon granted in December 1536. He accordingly determined to vest his lands in the Crown with a view to their ultimate reversion to his nephew as indicated in the two following letters :—

“Pleaseth your gracious majesty to be advertised, the only comfort next God I have, is in your most noble person, for proof wherof according to the words betwixt your majesty and me at Hackney, I am purposed to confirm mine only mind at that time. Having at no time in my life issue of mine own body, I intend to make your majesty mine heir of all my lands and possessions comprised and named in a pair of indentures betwixt your highness and me made the third day of February last in the xxvj year of your most noble Reign after my death. For ever being unfeignedly sick, therefore, in most

¹ The spelling of which has been modernised.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

humble wise I beseech your excellent highness to provide such as to your majesty's honor and pleasure shall be thought most meet in all convenient time, after the receipt of this my letter, to the advancement and furtherance of the same. Sir, the debility of my blood which truly is most to my discomfort, is not only the very occasion that forceth me thus to do, but assuredly the inward heart and love I bear, and as ever I have borne, to your majesty as a true and most bounden subject and one of the most poorest of your blood, . . . so I have truly served your majesty and shall while my life may last. I have desired this bearer to advertise your majesty such as in my heart further consisteth upon these contents, as your grace shall further perceive by a bill of articles which this bearer hath from me signed with my hand, to declare unto your grace. And thus I rest, with a true heart to pray for the increase of your majesty's most Royal person, most long to continue. Written the xxij day of January.

"H. NORTHUMBERLAND."¹

"MASTER SECRETARY,

"In my most hearty manner I commend me unto you, most heartily thanking you for all your kindness shewed unto me, for recompence whereof I am not able, but only with my poor heart, of which ye shall be assured during my life, as I am most bounden. And where that I am visited continually with sickness, and that my wife and I are not likely to come together, and as you know it hath pleased the King's Highness, more of his goodness than of my deserts, to give me licence (having none issue of mine own body) *to nominate and make mine heir which of my blood I will* (bearing the name of Percy) of all such lands as be comprehended in the Indentures betwixt His Majesty and me; perceiving the debility and unnaturalness

¹ Earl of Northumberland to King Henry VIII., Hackney, 220-4 January, 1537, *Cromwell Correspondence*, Letter N.

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Wofon I am comyt my self most bounden myt my most
duty in this cause comyt all thyng to you & your
order / wofor yt shal please you to take the charge
of my test & declaration of myne articles your
self or else to appoint Sir Thomas Warton to
supple the same and thus most hartely do I pray
wofon saving my self considered myt the charge
I take this with all other my yours affayres
to the order of you do our lord knowe who save
you and in this praying at long last at my lode
of Be. Correll the second day of February

Y^r done & affayres
most bounden
T. Warton

of those of my name, and for the great and most gracious goodness that I have always found in his Majesty, and for the natural love that I bear to his Grace, (which I would he knew as well as God doth) being most unworthy of his blood, have determined finally (as ye shall perceive by the copies of my letters sent unto his Majesty at this time) to make his Grace mine heir of all my lands aforesaid, I having none issue of mine own body lawfully begotten. The occasion of the haste hereof is only by reason of my continual sickness, and that my wife is a young woman and likely to continue, that if God shall call me shortly I might be sure his Grace shall prove my true and steadfast heart; and herein-closed do not only send unto you my letters unto his Majesty, but also certain articles¹ and the copy of my said letters. Good Master Secretary, as him to whom I do accompt myself most bounden next my master, I do in this cause commit all things to you and your order, whether it shall please you to take the delivery of my letters with declaration of mine Articles yourself, or else to appoint Sir Thomas Wharton to fulfill the same. And thus, Master Secretary, as in him whom resteth my chief confidence, next the King, I betake this with all other my poor affairs to the order of you as our Lord knoweth, who have you ever in his keeping with long life.

“At my lodge at Topclif the 2nd day of February.

“Your own ever assuredly most bounden,

“H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”²

¹ The articles referred to are not forthcoming, and it is thus impossible to ascertain the precise nature of the terms upon which the Percy lands were proposed to be vested in the Crown. It may be assumed, however, that it was not the Earl's intention permanently to alienate his family estates; but that by right of the power granted him to nominate his heir, he had provided for their ultimate reversion to his nearest of kin—the son of his brother Thomas, then only in his ninth year.

² *Chapter-House Papers*, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 4.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502—1537

The attainder of Sir Thomas Percy defeated the Earl's intentions. At his death, the family lands would now lapse to the Crown in course of law, and his power of nominating his future successor was abrogated. He accordingly determined at once and unconditionally to surrender all his possessions to the King, trusting to his justice and generosity for their ultimate restoration on the revival of the Earldom in the person of one of his nephews, as well as for his own maintenance during the rest of his life.¹

About three weeks before his death, he writes to Cromwell from his mansion at Hackney, to which he had now been removed, withdrawing all the restrictions previously attached to his bequest, and placing the whole of his lands absolutely at the disposal of the Crown :—

“MY VERY GOOD LORD,

“In most hearty manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, right so thanking the same for your manyfold kindness. And whereas before this time, of mine own free will, I have offered to the King's Majesty

¹ The statement of Bishop Percy in *Collins's Peerage*, seems to represent the case very accurately :—

“When the Earl found the attainder of his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, and his family unavoidable, in the last moments of his life he bequeathed all his estates to the King, probably by the wise forecast of some eminent lawyers, by whom he appears to have been directed ; in order that the great family estates, being vested in the Crown, might be capable at some future period, of being restored to his heirs, in which expectation he was not disappointed.”

The term “bequeathed” is misleading, since the Earl's lands passed into the King's immediate possession by deed of gift, and the will left by him, as will be seen hereafter, referred only to his personal property, which was of very trifling value. According to a “Declaration of my Lord's lands in 30 Henry VIII.,” the value of the estates so transferred was estimated at £3,876 per annum. Alnwick MSS. vol. lxxxix.

THE PERCY LANDS SURRENDERED TO THE KING.

A.D. 1537

to surrender and yield unto his Highness hands all my poor inheritance, upon the performance of divers articles signed with my hand, which of late I did send unto your Lordship; and where also I had not so frankly and freely resigned the same unto his Majesty, as in this case to his humble subject appertaineth, I thought good therefore most heartily to desire your Lordship to be mean unto His Majesty for me in that behalf; further advertising your good Lordship that I, relinquishing all my said requests containd in the said articles, do and am content finally to resign and surrender, yield up and give unto His Majesty all mine estate, possibility and interest of, and in, all my said inheritance, to be at his most gracious pleasure and disposition; most humbly beseeching His Majesty, as mine undoubted hope is, yet so to provide for me that I may be able to do unto his Grace some such service as may be acceptable unto his Highness, which always I have most heartily desired. And that it may please his Majesty to consider the service of my poor servants, that they may enjoy such fees, annuities and leases as I have given unto them, in part of recompense of the diligent service done unto me. Trusting and so desiring your Lordship to make relation unto the King's Majesty of this mine humble submission, and to further me at his Highness according to your Lordships accustomed goodness always borne towards me; and that it may please the same to give credence unto my right well beloved friend, Docter Legh,[†] in this behalf, and other his company. And thus the holy Trinity preserve your good lordship, with as much increase of honours as your noble heart may desire.

[†] The schedule of the Earl's debts (see Appendix LVI.) appears to have been prepared by this person with a view to their settlement by the King. There is no evidence, however, of their having been so paid.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537 "At the Kings Highness manor of Hackney¹ the third day of June.

"Yours most bounden,

"H. NORTHUMBERLAND."²

The pecuniary straits to which the poor suffering Earl (he describes himself as "diseased and crazed") had by this time been reduced are shown in the following letter:—

"My very good Lord in most hearty manner I commend me unto your good Lordship And sorry I am to be in so great perplexity, beseeching your good Lordship to be mediator for me unto the Kings majesty for such money as is due unto me for the occupation of the Wardenry of the East and middle marches of England foranest Scotland, which I am behind, and not paid of the quarter ended the first day of December last a hundred pounds; and for a whole quarter ended the first day of March last, ccl. li, that I may pay my deputies their fees in those partes, who call daily for the same. And though I be discharged of the said office yet trusting the Kings grace of his honour will remember my poor service seeing the said money is due unto me within a month of my discharge."³

¹ This residence, which the Earl already calls "the King's Manor," and which afterwards went by the name of the King's Hold, is described "as a fayre house all of Brick with a fayre Hall and Parlour, a large gallery, a proper Chapel and proper Library to lay books in." It subsequently became the property of Lord Brooke; next passed into possession of the Earl of Warwick, and was finally converted into a lunatic asylum. Thus the old mansions seem frequently to have shared the vicissitudes of their owners.

² *Chapter-House Papers*, Record Office, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 7.

³ Northumberland to Cromwell, 30th March, 1537. Cotton MSS. Vespasian, F. xiii. f. 83.

The confidence with which the Earl had stripped himself of all his possessions, trusting to the liberality of the King to maintain him during his remaining days was not justified. Henry had accepted the gift of his subject, but he appears to have ignored the obligations attached to it, and to have left the poor Earl to linger and die in penury.

On the 28th June Richard Layton writes to Lord Cromwell:—

"Hit may please your Lordeshippe to be advertised that this Saint Peters day, at iiii of the cloke at affternone, I went to se the Earle of Northumberlonde, beyng *sent for five days paste*, to have cum unto hyme, and supposyng to have fownde hyme syke, as I was wonte, I fownde him *languens in extremis*, vara desirouse to have spoken to me, but hit wolde not be. His syght begon to faile, proffer he cowlde not one perfite worde, his stomake swollen so gret as I never see none, his face, brest, stomake, all his bodye as yealow as saffrone; his memorie as yet goode and onderstendynge whatever ys said unto hym, but speke he cannot. I told hym for his comfortte that ye sende me to see hym, and that ye wolde he shulde take nothyng, and that your Lordeshipp wyllede hym to be of goode comfortte, and that ye wolde helpe to spede all his affayres with the King, nowe at your goyng to the Cowrte; and I comfortede hym before his servaunts in your Lordshippes name the beste I cowlde: but the trowthe is, I suppos, he cannot lyve xiiij ourrs. *This iii wekes he hade no money but by borrowyng*, as his servauntes declaredede to me.¹ He hathe made your Lordeshipe and the Bischope of Hereforthe his executors, and the King his supervisor. I rede his will whiche me seemeth is of small treasure.

"I thowght hit to be my dewtye to advertyse your

¹ For a return of his debts at this time see Appendix LVI.

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A.D.
1502-1537

Lordeshippe of the premisses, supposynge that he will be deade before this letter comes unto your handes.

"From London this Saint Peters day, at nyght, by your Lordshippes most bownden to commaunde,

"RICHARD LAYTON, *Preste*."

Before the sun rose on the morrow the sufferer was at rest. He breathed his last between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 29th June, and the lonely deathbed on which he had lingered, neglected and speechless, was in fit keeping with his sad and broken life. He had barely attained his thirty-fifth year.

He was buried in the parish church of Hackney; his funeral was attended by the four orders of friars, and a large number of clerks and priests. Lord Cromwell was represented by his nephew Sir Richard; Lord Butler was chief mourner, and mention is made of Lord Borough, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Ralph Sadler among those who followed his remains. Of his own name there was not one present.

The Bishop of St. Asaph and the Abbot of Stratford performed the last services over the grave of Henry Algernon, the Unthrifty, or, as he might more appropriately be called, the Unhappy, Earl of Northumberland.¹

* * *

¹ *Ellis's Letters*, Series iii. vol. iii. p. 76. Layton was the rector of Harrow, and an active agent of Cromwell's in the suppression of monasteries.

² Weever quotes the simple inscription on the tomb-stone in Hackney Church, but Dr. Percy writes:—

"On 25th May 1767 I went to Hackney Church to enquire after this monument; but though I examined the chancel with great attention I could find no traces of it remaining. Nor had the sexton, an aged person, the least remembrance that it had ever existed there."—*Alnwick MSS.*

³ The particulars relating to the funeral from the Records in the Herald's Office are published in Lyson's *Environ's of London*, vol. ii. p. 470.

THE WIDOWED COUNTESS.

Her husband having during his lifetime absolutely made over all his possessions to the Crown, the duty of providing for his widow devolved upon the King, and the Earl of Shrewsbury was instrumental in obtaining for his daughter an interview for the purpose of presenting a petition for the grant of an annuity. The result is thus described by an eye-witness of the scene.

A.D. 1537
—

“Plesythe your Lordshype to be advertised that of Mondaye the xv day of Maye, my Lady of Northumberlande exibytet her bylle unto the Kynges Magestie at his Grace's comminge to Grenewyche, with the wordes : ‘I beseche your Magestie be goode and gracious lorde unto me, beyunge a poore wydow, and wyff to the late Earle of Northumberland, whych hath not hade, nor yet hath, any lyffenge of such landes as were my late husbandes ; wherfor I beseche your Magestie, of your most abundante goodnes, to tender this my humble sewyt conteynynd in my bill.’

“Who herde her ladyshype verry gentylye, and, after the said wordes spoken, his Grace bowed down upon his staffe unto her, and said :

“‘Madame, howe can your ladyshype desire any lyffenge of your husbande's landes ; seying your father gaffe no money to your husbande in marriage with your ladyshype, or what thynke you that I shuld do herein ?’

“And she answered, ‘What shall pleas your Grace.’ He answered agane and said : ‘Madame I marvil gretly that my Lord your father, being so gret wyse a man as he was, wold see no dyrectyun taken in this mater in his tyme ; howbeyt Madame we wolle be contented to refer the matter unto our Councel.’ After that his Grace looked behynde hym, and saw my Lorde of Durhame and Sir Antonye Browne, and moved them to hym with his hand, and spake with theym softlye, that no man cowlde perceyve what his Grace said to theym, a pretty space,

HENRY PERCY, SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND

A.D.
1502-1537

and delyverede the bill unto my Lorde of Durhame; and in His Grace's return from theym my Lady besowght by Magestie to be gude and gracious Lorde unto her. His Magestie answered 'We wolle,' and so departed; and further as yet there is not proceded in this mater. . . . And wher your Lordshyp hath wryten me to sende wordes donne shortlye, whether it were requysyte that any shuld come up to wayt upon my Lady of Northumberland her besynes (business), I cannot asserten your Lordshyp any thyng thereof, unto such tyme as my Lord of Durham and Sir Browne be spoken with, whyche shalbe, God wyllynge, of Fryday the xix daye of this present monthe."¹

The Countess appears to have received a considerable grant of abbey lands for her maintenance, notwithstanding which appropriation of the property of the Church to her personal use, she remained a devout Catholic and continued to adhere to the ancient ritual, even after the celebration of such had become a penal offence.²

Sir Ingelram Percy, although he had been nearly as deeply implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace as his brother Thomas, does not appear to have been brought to trial, but after a captivity of some months' duration in the Tower, was pardoned and liberated, and is said to have died abroad shortly after. In his will, dated in 1538, the following passage occurs:

¹ Swyfoe to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 15 May, 1538, MSS. Lambeth. No. 695, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 5. The name of the writer, then an officer in the service of the Countess of Northumberland, is printed "Swyfoe" but should probably have been "Swinhoe" a name of frequent occurrence in the northern Lists of Array.

² She was, late in life, suspected of strong sympathy with Queen Mary of Scotland, and is mentioned as one of those who, contrary to law, had mass performed in their houses. The editor of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* states that he had seen a letter of hers dated from Wressil, in 1569, pleading on behalf of a poor man whose cattle had been impounded by one of Lady Cavendish's agents. She survived her nephew, the seventh Earl, by a few weeks, a devout Catholic to the last, and was buried in Sheffield Church.

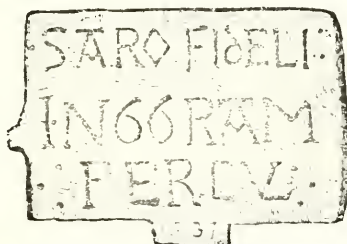
SIR INGELRAM PERCY.

"I bequeathe to my daughter Isabel, Twenty Pounds, the whyche £20 I wyll that my Lady, my moder, have the use thereof unto the child, untyl she shall be of lawful age. . . then I bequeathe to the moder of the saide chyld, Twenty nobles. . . ."

A.D. 1537

There is no mention of Sir Ingelram having been married, and the terms of these bequests leave little doubt that his daughter Isabel (who in 1544 married Henry Tempest of Broughton) was illegitimate. The matter is important in its bearing upon subsequent events, inasmuch as it was by right of his alleged descent in the direct male line from this Ingelram, that two centuries later Thomas Percy, the Dublin trunk-maker, claimed the heirship to the earldom of Northumberland.

This sad record of Sir Ingelram's captivity in the Tower of London remains to the present day on the wall of a cell in the Beauchamp Tower:—¹



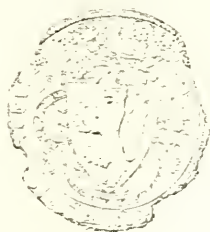
¹ See *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 79. The supposition, in this interesting paper, that another inscription in the Tower, "*En Dieu mon espérance*," was by the hand of the eighth Earl of Northumberland, during his incarceration in 1585, appears to rest upon no stronger ground than the coincidence of these words with the Percy motto.

1



S.D.

2



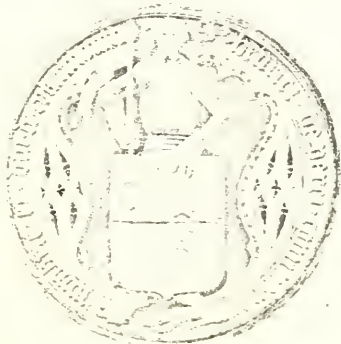
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4



1363.

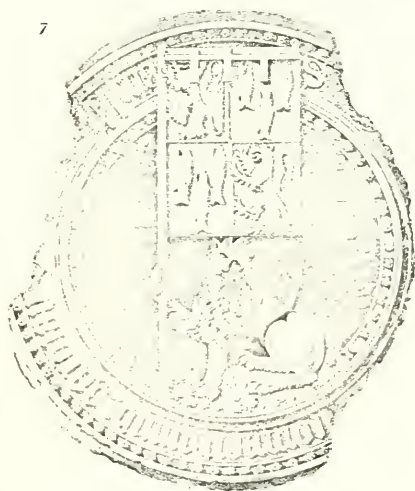


6



1435

7



1427



S.D.



1301



11



12



1317

1372.

13



1355

14



1386

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1317

16



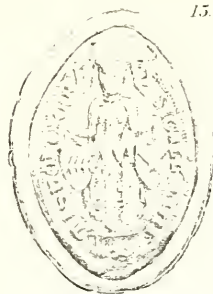
1376

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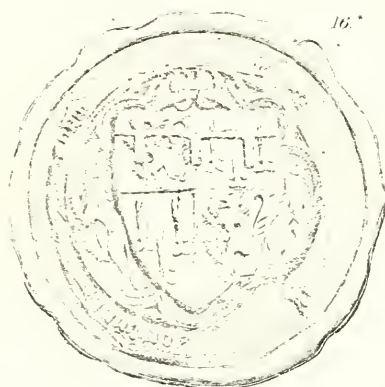


1393

15.

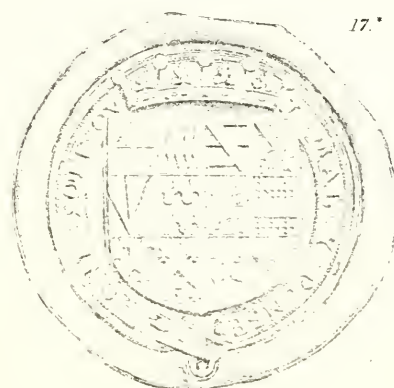


16.



1392-7.

17.



1593-1605.

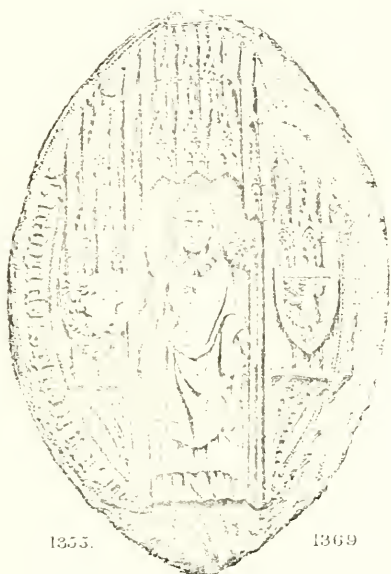
20



21



1636



1353.

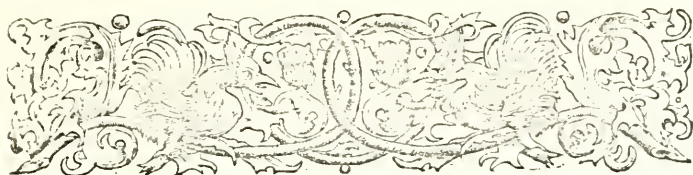
1369

THOMAS BISHOP OF NORWICH



1446

PERCY SEALS.



APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.

I.

CHARTER, WHITEY ABBEY.

(P. 20.)

"William, King of England, to all his faithful subjects
greeting: CHAP. I.

"Know ye that I have given, and by my charter confirmed, to the Church of Whitby, and to Serlo the Prior and the monks of that place for ever, all liberties and privileges over whatever land they may have acquired, or may acquire; as also over all their homagers wheresoever dwelling, as absolutely and freely as the Royal power hath granted, or can grant them, to any church whatsoever. And I grant to them and all their homagers, wheresoever they go to buy and sell, an immunity from every tax, toll or demand of Kings, Earls, Barons or Lords, whether made by themselves or other bailiffs.

"And I forbid, under penalty of my royal displeasure, all manner of persons from meddling with these lands or homages wherever they are; or with their forests, or the wild beasts within their liberties, or with their water in the Port of Whitby or elsewhere, or with their other possessions, whether ecclesiastical or laical, or with anything belonging to the Church of Whitby, except the monks themselves, or such bailiffs or servants as they may provide."—DUGDALE, *Monast. Angl.*

The original charter (in Latin) is witnessed by William de Percy.

APPENDIX.

II.

RICHARD DE PERCY'S LITIGATION.*

(P. 44.)

CHAP. II.

Pleas at Kenington before the Lord the King, from the day of the Holy Trinity in fifteen days, to wit Tuesday in the Quindene.

Richard de Percy puts in his place Daniel Teutonicus or Robert de Lokenefeuld against William de Percy forfeiture.—*Tower Assize Roll*, 17 Henry III. No. 5, m. 2.

* * *

Richard de Percy was attached to answer to William de Percy because he keeps not to him the fine made between them in the Court of the Lord the King, concerning the Manors of Tatecastr', Linton, Spofford, Giseburn, Setele and a moiety of the town of Buggeden, and of the town of Luton, and of the land of Naffreton &c., whereof the same William complains that, contrary to that fine, the aforesaid Richard does not permit Thomas de Arches to do homage to him for the tenement which William de Arches holds of Elyas di Gikeleswic', and the same Elyas of the same Thomas in Arneclive. And moreover, whereas Elyas de Gikeleswic' holds of the same William one mill, to which the suit of the town of Setele appertains, the same Richard has made another mill in Setele and deforced from the same Elyas the suit of the same town of Setele which he always had. And wherefore the same William cannot have his farm in the same town. And moreover the same William distrains Baldwin Fitz Ralph, by the same Baldwin and his men, to do homage to the same Richard for service in Shipton, Baldeby and Disceford. And moreover he distrains William la Vavasur and William de Dalton, his man, to do their homage and their service to the same for ten bovates of land in Dalton. And moreover he distrains Hugh de Balderby to do his homage to him, although the same Hugh is his man for the fee which he holds of the Earl of Chester of the Honor of Richemund. And moreover he distrains the aforesaid Thomas de Arches to do the service of one Knight in Acon' by William de Atterwik, who holds of the aforesaid Thomas and Thomas of the same William. And moreover he distrains Robert de Irton to do homage and service to him for the tenement which he holds in Irton. And moreover contrary to the aforesaid fine he deforces to the said William two bovates of land and 16s. of rent in Naffreton, although all the land of Naffreton ought to remain to him by that fine; because the writing witnesses that nothing remained to Richard except the service of the heirs of Roger de

* Throughout this and other ancient documents quoted in the Appendix the capital spelling of the names of places and persons has been preserved, although in some instances they are so distorted as to require some ingenuity for their identification.

Arundel. And he says that the aforesaid 16s. are in Kayton and in Angoteby as of the appurtenances of Naffreton. And that he deforces from him the service of Robert de Percy of Boulton, although it is appurtenant to the Manor of Tatecastr'; and the service of Rose de Kuna de Thorp which appertains to the same Manor; and the service of the same Rose of Thorinton and Neweton which appertain to the Manor of Giseburn; and the service of Robert de Percy of Ribbestein which appertains to the Manor of Spofford; and the service of the heirs of William Fitz Hugh of ten bovates of land in Horton which appertains to the Manor of Giseburn; and the service of Robert Luvel of Akelthorp which appertains to Spofford; and the service of Ralph de Alta Ripa and Godfrey de Alta Ripa which appertains to Giseburn; and the service of William de Flandr' of Rothemil which appertains to Giseburn and to the forest of Giseburn; and the service of the tenants of Wikewurth which appertains to Giseburn and to the aforesaid Forest and from the tenement of Rose de Kuna in Ikkleya 40d. per annum. And concerning this that he distrains the aforesaid Thomas de Arches, Baldwin Fitz Ralph, William le Vavasur, Hugh de Balderby, William de Anderwert, Robert de [sic.] and that he deforces from him the said two bovates of land and the said 16s. of rent; and from the aforesaid Elyas the suit of the aforesaid mill whereby he is injured and has damage to the value of 40 marks &c. And moreover concerning this that against the aforesaid fine he deforces the service of the aforesaid Robert de Percy and of others (whereby) he is injured &c.

And Richard by his attornies defends the force and injury &c. And concerning the service of Thomas de Arches in Arneclive, he says that it appertains to him by the last fine between them made, for that it is in the Forest of Littonedale, and within the metes of the same Forest, and therefore he puts himself upon the country.

Concerning the service of the aforesaid Baldwin William and Hugh, he says that their aforesaid tenements are of the appurtenances of the manor of Toppeclive and of the fee of William de Awike; wherefore he distrained the aforesaid Thomas de Arches to do homage to him. And the tenement of Robert de Irton likewise appertains to his Manor of Semare. And 16s. of rent in Angoteby and Kayton appertain to the same Manor of Semare. Also two bovates of land with appurtenances in Naffreton are of four carucates of land which were of Roger de Arundel, whereof the service remained to the same Richard by that fine. Concerning the suit he says that all the men of the town of Setele ought to do suit to the Mill of Elias de Gikeleswic', in Gikeleswic'.

Concerning the service of Robert de Percy and of all the others following, he says that their service appertains to part of his barony. A day is given to them on the day of Saint Hilary in three weeks at the prayer of the parties. And it is commanded

APPENDIX.

CHAP. II.

to the Sheriff that he distrain all the men of Setele to do suit to the aforesaid Mill, and that he shall not permit Richard de Percy to distrain the abovesaid from Thomas de Arches to Robert de Percy, nor William de Percy to distrain Robert de Percy and the rest, until it shall have been discussed in the Court of the Lord the King to which of them the aforesaid homage and service ought to pertain And William de Percy puts in his place Henry de Percy, his brother, and William de Coudrey and Walter de Lond.

And because William de Percy was in seizin of all the Manor of Tatecastr', with all its appurtenances, and all the Manor of Linton with all its appurtenances, and all the Manor of Spofford with all its appurtenances, and of all the Manor of Giseburn with all the appurtenances, and of all the town of Setele with all its appurtenances, and of a moiety of the whole town of Lutton with all its appurtenances, and of a moiety of the whole town of Bukeden with all its appurtenances And Richard de Percy was in seizin of the whole Manor of Toppeclive with all its appurtenances, and of the whole Manor of Semar with all its appurtenances, and of all the Manor of Leckinfeud with all its appurtenances, and of the whole town of Wandeford with all its appurtenances, and of the whole town of Naffreton with all its appurtenances, and of the whole Manor of Catton' with all its appurtenances, and of a moiety of the whole town of Bukeden with all its appurtenances, and of a moiety of the whole town of Lutton with all its appurtenances, on the day when the first agreement (conċ) was made between them by a writing in the Court of the Lord the King at Westminster It is considered that both of them shall hold all the aforesaid Manors with such appurtenances (as) they held them, to wit in fees and homages and services of Knights and of free men, in advowsons of churches, and demesnes and rents in villenages. in meadows and pastures, in woods, waters and mills, in fisheries and all other things to the aforesaid Manors appertaining. Saving nevertheless to the aforesaid [*sic*] de Percy and his heirs, all the land of Naffreton, with the advowson of the church and with all other its appurtenances, except the service of the heirs of Roger de Arundel, for four carucates of land with appurtenances in Naffreton, which remains to the same Richard with his heirs. Saving also to the same William, and his heirs, the rent which he first had therefrom, except the service of Poketorp and of Roston, which the same Richard first had, and which remains to him and his heirs Saving also to the same William and his heirs, all the land of Wandeford, with the appurtenances and all the land of Foston, with the appurtenances, which Richard de Percy had there: to wit whatever is contained within the bow of the aforesaid Manors which remain to the same William and

his heirs, to hold of the same Richard and his heirs, doing therefore the service of the fourth part of one Knight's fee for all services, as it is contained in the second writing made between them; and saving to the same William and his heirs all the Forest of L . . . strode with its appurtenances, together with the Chace of Giseburn, as is contained in the second fine between them. Saving also to the aforesaid Richard and his heirs the Manor of Setele with its appurtenances, to wit: whatever is contained within the body of the same, [Manor] so that the advowson of the Church of Gikeleswic', with the appurtenances, and the service of Elyas de Gikeleswic' for the tenement which he formerly held of the same William, shall remain to the same William and his heirs; and the aforesaid Richard and his heirs shall do to the same William, and his heirs, for the aforesaid Manor of Setele, the service of the fourth part of one Knight's fee and shall render yearly to them shillings for all service. And all the Forest of Littondale, as it is contained in the second writing made between them, shall remain to the same Richard de Percy and his heirs. And it is commanded to the Sheriff that he shall not permit the aforesaid Richard de Percy to distrain Thomas de Arches to do homage to him, for the tenement which William de Arches holds of Elyas de G(ikeles)wic'; and the same Elyas of the aforesaid William de Percy in Arneclive; and that he shall distrain all the men of Se . . . to do suit to the mill of Elyas de Gikeleswic', like as the same Richard acknowledged that suit to him, and shall not permit the same Richard to distrain Baldwin Fitz Ralph to do homage to him for service in Shipton, Balder, . . Diceford, nor William de Vavasur and a certain free man, William de Dalton, to do their homage to him and (service) for ten bovates of land in Dalton, nor Hugo de Balderby to do his homage to him for the tenement that he holds derby; nor the aforesaid Thomas de Arches to do the service of one Knight to him for the tenement which William de Attewike holds of (the same) Thomas, and the same Thomas of the aforesaid William; nor Robert de Irton to do homage and service to him for the tenement that he holds in, and that he shall not permit the aforesaid Richard to deforce from the aforesaid William two bovates of land in Naffreton, nor 16s. of rent [in] Kayton and Angoteby. And it is also commanded to the Sheriff that he shall not permit the heirs of Robert de Percy to do service to him for the tenements in Boulton and in Ribbestain; nor Rose de Kuna to do service to him for the tenement which she holds in Torp Neuweton and Thorinton; nor the heirs of William Fitz Hugh to do service to him for ten bovates of land in Horton; nor Robert Luvel de Akilthorp to do service to him for tenements in Akilthorp; nor Ralph de Alta Ripa, nor Godfrey de Alta Ripa, to do service to him for

APPENDIX.

CHAP. II.

tenements in Raileton and Sutton ; nor William le Flemeng to do service to him for tenements in Rothemil ; nor the tenants of Wikewurth to do service to him for their tenement in Wikewurth ; nor the aforesaid Rose de Kuna to render . . . d. per annum for tenements in Illectley.

York : from
the day of
Easter three
weeks in the
seventeenth
year.

* * *

William de Percy presents himself on the fourth [day] against Richard de Percy of a plea wherefore, contrary to a fine made between them in the Court &c. at Westminster, he deforced from him the service of Robert de Iirtoñ, Elyas Gikeleswič, Thomas de Arches, William le Varasur, and moreover, contrary to the aforesaid fine, he does not permit his men of Setle to do suit to the mill of Elyas de Gikeleswic' &c. And Richard came not &c. and made many defaults &c. And therefore let him be distrained by lands and chattels, that he be on the morrow of Saint John the Baptist &c. And because it is witnessed by the Sheriff's Bailiff that Robert de Irton, Reginald and William, his men, Richard the clerk, Richard Palmer, William de Attewic, Richard de Osgoteby, Henry de Folketon, Walter de Scoteny, Robert Swift, Roger the Forester, and Richard the Forester, hindered the Bailiffs of the Lord the King, so that they could not distrain the aforesaid men of Setle to do the aforesaid suit. It is commanded to the Sheriff to attach all the aforesaid by safe pledges that they be at the aforesaid term &c.

* * *

Afterwards at Westminster before the Lord the King a day is given to them from the day of Saint Michael in 15 days before the Lord the King, wherever he shall be, that in the meanwhile it may be treated of peace. And William puts in his place Wymund de Ralegh, or Henry de Percy. And the attornies of Richard mainprise that the cattle of William in the meanwhile shall be replevined, to wit the cattle of Elyas de Gikeleswic, which were taken for the same cause. And the imparlance shall be in the same state in which it is now and in the meanwhile let each of them have the peace &c.

* * *

Afterwards at Westminster on the day of Saint Michael in three weeks, Richard comes and grants before the same Lord the King whatever is contained in this roll and grants that it will cause to be delivered the cattle of Elyas de Gikeleswic, which he took and detains taken, and in order to carry this grant into effect a day is given to them in the County of York from the day of Saint Martin in 15 days &c.—*Tower Assize Roll 17 & 18 Henry III. No. 12. Translated from the original Latin Roll in the Record Office.*

APPENDIX.

Pleas at Westminster in the Octave of Saint Michael, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Henry, the eighteenth beginning.

CHAP. 11.
—

William de Percy by his attorney presents himself the fourth day against Richard de Percy concerning a plea whereby, contrary to a fine made in the Court of the Lord the King at Westminster between them, he deforced to him the service of Elyas de Gyselwic, Thomas de Arches, and William le Vavassur. And Richard came not nor the others named in the writ and the sheriff returns that they were distrained and therefore as before they are distrained according to the form of the writ in the octave of Saint Michael that be from the day of Saint Hilary in three weeks &c.—*Coram Rege Roll*, 18 Henry III. m. 16.

* * *

It is commanded to the Justices of the Bench that the plea which is before them by precept of the King, from the day of the Holy Trinity in one month, between Richard de Percy and William de Percy, concerning a fine made between them, shall be put before the Lord the King, wherever he shall be, from the day of the Holy Trinity in six weeks. The Lord the King wills that that plea may be ended and peace thereof made in his presence. Witness the King at Kenyton 6th day of July.—*Close Roll*, 18 Henry III.

III.

ALNWICK CASTLE.

(P. 64.)

(*From Inquis. 17 Edw. I. No. 25, 1289.*)

On the death of John de Percy, Alnwick Castle (and "appertenances" comprising 129 Acres and 1 Rood) was assessed at the annual value of	£6 18 4½
Bondmen in Alnwick and Denwick each holding 24 Acres of land in bondage at 2 marks p. a. ¹	31 16 0
For the increase of their lands with a certain Exchange of Gynger	2 15 0
Seven Cottars by the year	9 0
A Farm of a Harvest man	5 0
Farm of free tenant of Alnwick with three Water Mills	66 1 0
Rents of Holm	11 19 6½
do. of Swynley	11 19 0
held by Barony by fee and service of 3 Knights.	

CHAP. III.

¹ In the *Inquis. post. mort.*, on this Henry de Percy (8 Edw. II. 65^a.) the rental of the arable land of which he died seized is cited at 1s., and of the meadow lands at 3s. the acre.

APPENDIX.

IV.

SAFE-CONDUCT TO HENRY DE PERCY.

(P. 68.)

(*Patent Rolls, 6 Edward II., p. 1, m. 7.*)

I.

CHAP. III.

Safeconduct by the King to Henry de Percy and his familiars, at the instance of A. Cardinal St. Prisca, Lewis Count d'Evreux, R. Bishop of Poitiers (Pictavensis), the Pope's Chamberlain, Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, the King's nephew, and John de Bretagne Earl of Richmond, the King's kinsman, in coming to the said Cardinal, Bishop, and Earls, and others of the King's Council to treat upon arduous matters touching the King and him and other nobles of the Kingdom, upon which matters some treaty was lately begun at Markeate, "so that he come without arms and horses at arms";—to continue till Pentecost next. Dated at Westminster, 16th December.

II.

Safeconduct for Henry de Percy and his familiars in going throughout the King's dominions and doing his own business, "without arms and horses at arms"; to continue as above. Dated as above.

Similar letters of conduct for the following persons:—

Thomas Earl of Lancaster, his familiars and adherents. Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, his familiars and adherents. Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, his familiars and adherents. Robert de Clifford, for himself and his familiars. John Botetourt and his familiars.

V.

WARKWORTH CASTLE.

(P. 74.)

Royal licence by King Edward II. (26th October 1300) and Letters Patent of 23 January 1310, approving of transfer to Anthony Beke Bishop of Durham, to Henry Percy Lord

APPENDIX.

Ainwick, of the Castle and Town of Warkworth, held by barony by service of one Knight's fee. CHAP. III.

One acre and a half upon which the Castle is situate.

Farm of the Burgh of Warkworth, p. a.	£2	7	7½
do. of Newburgh	1	16	4
120 acres of arable land in demesne	3	0	0
40 „ of meadow	4	0	0
Common oven and Toll	1	0	0
Fishery and Water of Cockett and Sea	6	13	4
2 Salt Pits		10	0
Perquisites of Court to be holden	1	0	0
Water Mill	9	6	8
do at Brotherwick	1	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£31	3	11½

(*Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. II. 2, m. 30*).

“Whereas in a certain Indenture between us and our beloved kinsman and faithful (man) Henry de Percy, touching his dwelling with us for peace and for war, with a certain number of men at arms for the whole lifetime of the same Henry, it is contained that the same Henry shall receive from us by the year for his fee, 500 marks in time of peace and of war”: the King grants him the reversion of the Castle of Werkworth, and all other lands and tenements in the County of Northumberland, which John de Claveryng holds, for term of his life, and which on the death of the same John should revert to the King; and also all other lands which the same John holds to him and his heirs male; if he die without heir male, the fee then to cease, and if the premises are worth more than 500 marks yearly, Henry to pay the excess into the Exchequer. Dated at York 1st March (1329).

(*Patent Roll, 2 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 25*.)

VI.

SCOTTISH LANDS GRANTED TO HENRY DE PERCY.

(P. 79.)

“It is commanded to the Steward of Anandirdale (? Annandale) that he shall not intermeddle with the lands granted by Edward de Balliol to Henry de Percy.”—*Rotuli Scotie*, 8 Edward III.

APPENDIX.

VII.

EXCHANGE OF LANDS.

(P. 79.)

(*Rotuli Scotiae*, 25 *Edw. III.*)

CHAP. III.

Mandate that money due to Henry de Percy be paid him.
The King to the Collectors as well of the new as of the old custom in the port of the town of Berwick on Tweed. Whereas lately, in part recompence and exchange for the Castle and peel of Loghmaban and Anandale, (*vallis Anand'*) and of all the lands and tenements to the said Castle and peel pertaining, which Henry de Percy lately had and held of the gift and grant of the Lord Edward de Balliol King of Scotland to the value of 1,000 marks per annum, and which the same Henry surrendered into our hands; We have given and granted to the same Henry the Castle and constabulary of the town of Jeddeworth, and the towns of Jeddeworth, Bon Jeddeworth; and Hassenden, and the forest of Jeddeworth; and all land and tenements to the aforesaid Castle &c. belonging to have and hold of him and his heirs to the value of 500 marks per annum. We have given also and granted to the same Henry 500 marks to be received yearly from the aforesaid customs, and also the custody of the Castle of Berwick. To hold together with the Castle constabulary of Jeddeworth and the towns and forests, in full recompence of the Castle and peel of Loghmaban. We command that you do pay to the same Henry, or Thomas de Dalton, his attorney, what is in arrear of the aforesaid five hundred marks by the year of the customs aforesaid and to pay the same in future.

VIII.

EXPENSES OF SCOTTISH WARS, 1346.

(P. 87.)

Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, 20-21 *Edward III.*

Miscellanea. Army $\frac{47}{23}$ & 24

Account of John de Wodehous, Clerk, of all moneys received at York from the Tenth of the Clergy and the Tenth and Fifteenth of the Laity in the northern Counties, and of payments made thereout for wages and other necessities for

defence of the Kingdom of England, and the Marches thereof towards the North parts, according to the ordinance and by the view and testimony of William, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Nevill, from 7th June 19 Edward III. to 15th January 21 Edward III.

I. Moneys received.

II. Expenses. Various large sums paid to the Keeper of the Town of Berwick for its safe custody. Payments to Knights, men at arms, mounted archers, &c. The battle near Durham is frequently mentioned. Wages of hobelars. Certain Scotch noblemen conveyed to the Tower of London. Custody (at Wark) of David de Brus, "who calls himself King of Scotland," lately taken at the said battle. Payment to Masters William of Bolton and Hugh of Kilvyngton, barber surgeons, going from York to the Castle of Bamburgh, to heal the said David de Brus, who lay there, having been wounded with an arrow at the said Battle, and to extract the arrow, and to heal him with despatch; £6. No prisoners taken at the Battle were to be delivered without the King's special mandate. Expenses of David de Brus at York and thence to the Tower of London. Total expenses 6,307*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Payments and liveries to the great men and others in their first voyage into Scotland from 13 May 21 Edward III. on which day they began to march, and other expenses by John de Wodehouse, Receiver of the King's moneys in divers Counties this side Trent, and by Henry de Melburn his clerk, by precept of the Lords Henry de Percy and Ralph de Nevill. —To Edward de Balliol King of Scotland, for wages of himself, 8 knights, 74 men-at-arms, and 81 horse-archers from 13 May 21 Edward III. to 10 June; also wages of himself 4 knights 56 men-at-arms, and 60 horse-archers in the peel of Estholm in Scotland, with the other great men, for his safe custody, from 10th June to 25th August; in all 549*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*—Wages of the Earl of Angus for himself 4 knights 21 men-at-arms and 3 horse-archers from 13 May to 10 June, and for himself, 3 knights, 13 men at arms, and 3 horse-archers, in the said Peel as above from 10 June to 11 July 21 Edward III.; in all 92*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—Wages of Henry de Percy for himself 19 knights 88 men-at-arms and 100 horse-archers from 13 May to 10 June, and for himself 6 knights 24 men-at-arms and 30 horse-archers from 10 June to 13 July following, being in the said peel for the safe custody of the said King; in all 311*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*—Wages of Ralph de Nevill for himself, 2 bannerets, 20 knights, 80 men-at-arms, and 100 horse-archers from 13 May to 10 June, and lesser numbers till 13 July as above.—Then follow other retinues: Two persons found a ship-of-war each, "for saving the victuals of the said magnates and others." Payments

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IX.

LANDS IN POSSESSION OF THE THIRD BARON OF ALNWICK.

(P. 90.)

(*Inquisitiones Post Mortem.* 26 Edward III. 1st Nos. No. 52*a.*)

I. AND II.—Inquisition taken before John de Swynnerton, Escheator in co. Salop, Saturday in the Vigil of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, 26 Edward III., by the oath &c. who say that Henry de Percy held no lands nor tenements in his demesne as of fee nor in service on the day on which he died of the Lord the King in chief nor of any other in the County of Salop.

III. AND IV.—Inquisition taken before Ralph de St. Oweyn, Escheator in co. Sussex, 26 Edward III. by the oath &c. who say that Henry de Percy held no lands or tenements of the Lord the King in chief in co. Sussex on the day on which he died; but say that he held on the day aforesaid of Richard Earl of Arundel the Manors of Petworth, Sutton, Donketon and Heyshete, with appurtenances, and the advowson of the Church of Petworth, by the service of 22 Knights' fees, and for all other rents by the year therefor to be rendered. And they say that the Manors aforesaid with the advowson are worth by the year, in all issues, one hundred pounds. And they say the aforesaid Henry died 26 February in the year aforesaid; and that Henry Percy is his son and next heir, and is of the age of 30 years

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V. AND VI.—Inquisition taken before Andrew Aubrey, Mayor of the City of London, and Escheator of the King in the same City, the 10th March 26 Edward III. to inquire on what day Henry de Percy died, and how much land the same Henry held of the King in chief as well in demesne as in service, within the liberty of the City aforesaid, on the day on which he died; and how much of others, and of all other articles in the said writ contained by the oaths &c.; who say that the aforesaid Henry de Percy died on the 28th day of February, 26 Edward III., on which day he was seized of one tenement and eight shops, with solars built over, within Aldersgate in London, which are worth in all issues by the year £7 10s. 8d. deducting therefrom 20d. yearly to be paid to the Sheriffs of London, who for the time shall be for socage in aid of the farm of the City of London, and 4s. yearly to be quit of the rent to be paid to the Church of St. Martin the Great, London, and for reparation of the same tenement and shops with solars built over them, by the year 45s., and so the same tenement and shops with solars are worth by the year 100s. And they are held of the Lord the King in free burgage.

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Also they say that Henry, son of the aforesaid Henry de Percy, is his son and next heir and is of the age of 30 years and upwards.

VII. AND VIII.—Inquisition taken before Saier de Rochford, Escheator of the Lord the King in the County of Lincoln, Wednesday next after the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary 26 Edward III. by the oath &c. who say that Henry de Percy held no lands or tenements of the Lord the King in chief on the day on which he died, in his demesne as of fee in the County aforesaid, but they say that the same Henry held on the day on which he died, eight marks of annual rent in Luthford, issuing from the Prior of Sixill, of his Manor there at two terms of the year, to wit at the feasts of St. Michael and Easter, by equal porcions of the Lord the King in chief, by the 20th part of one Knight's fee for all service. Also they say that the said Henry de Percy died the 27th February in the year abovesaid. and they say that a certain Henry de Percy, Knight, is his son and next heir, and is of the age of twenty-four years and upwards.

IX. AND X.—Inquisition taken at York before Peter de Nuttle, Escheator of the Lord the King, in the County of York, the 22nd day of March 26 Edward III. by the oath &c. who say that Henry de Percy deceased held no lands or tenements on the day on which he died in his demesne as of fee simple of the Lord the King in the County aforesaid,

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but they say that the same Henry formerly was seized in his demesne as of fee simple of the Manors of Spofford, Toppeclife, Semere, Nafferton, Lekyngfield, Clethop and Catton with their members and appurtenances in the County aforesaid which same Henry by his charter gave and granted the Manor aforesaid with their members and appurtenances to John de Crayks, Clerk, to have and hold to the same John and his heirs for ever, which same John, having full and peaceable seisin thereof by his charter, gave and granted the same to the aforesaid Henry de Percy, to have and hold to the same Henry and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, so that if the same Henry should die without heirs of his body, then after his death the Manors aforesaid should remain to the right heirs of the same Henry for ever, by a fine thereof in the Court of the Lord the King levied. And they say that the Manors aforesaid, except the Manor of Catton, are held of the Lord the King in chief, or of the Crown by homage and fealty, and by the service of six knights' fees, and by the service of rendering to the Lord the King and his heirs, by the year at the Exchequer of the King, by the hands of the Sheriff of the aforesaid County, who for the time shall be, for fines of the Wapentakes of Herthill, Dikeryng, Buttros, Pikeryng, Bradeford and Clarwold, 46s. 8d. at the terms of Easter and St. Michael. And they say that the aforesaid Manor of Catton, with appurtenances, is held of the Earl of Chester by military service, and they say that there is at Spofford one capital messuage, and it is worth nothing by the year beyond reprises, and there are demesne lands woods rents &c. there. And there is at Lynton, which is of the appurtenances of the Manor of Spofford, a water-mill and rents of tenants and cottages. And there is at Letheley, which is of the appurtenances of the Manor of Spofford, a capital messuage lands and rents. And there is at Arlethorp, which is of the appurtenances of the Manor of Spofford, one messuage ruinous and lands; And there is at Toppcliff a capital messuage lands and rents; And there is at Gristhwayt and Aystenby, which are of the appurtenances of the Manor of Toppeclif, rents of tenants at will, and a water-mill at Gristhwayt; and there is at Dalton which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor a rent of freemen. And there is at Skipton which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor a rent of freemen; and there used to be a certain passage over the water of Swale, and now is there a certain bridge over the said Water. And there is at Neutze-super-Swale, which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor, two water mills and one fulling mill; and there are in the aforesaid Manor of Toppeclif and divers parcels of meadow called Nikelkere and Thakker, which are included in the park of Meskwyth; a park called Berkelond, a fishery in the Water of Swale; and

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that there is in the Manors of Spofford and Toppecliff of the rent of foreign free tenants, And that there is at Semere a capital messuage and demesne lands and there is at Semere [Ireton Everley and Alton] And there is at Nasfretton, one capital messuage and lands in demesne, and lands there called Sulkholm, Skirninges and Westker Canteleng Mikelong in Wandesford le Halftedeng le Nenhalgarth le Wstker le Th . . . a fishery in the Water of Skirine And there are there and at Wandesford Pokethorp and Wyndesbury which are of the appurtenances of the same Manor rents of freemen, tenants at will and cottagers, the rent of a free tenant at Foscoton, and rents at Pokethorp and Wandesford And there is at Lekyngfeld a capital messuage and a close called le Faldecroft, woods called Croftwod Westhal and lands rents &c. And there is at Cletop one capital messuage and demesne lands. And there is at Setill, which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor, a certain halmote and rents And there is at Gikeleswyk, which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor, a water mill and rents of free men and tenants at will and cottagers. And there is at Langestrother, which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor, divers tenants. at will and Gresmanni, who hold certain messuages herbage and meadow.

Also they say, there is at Catton one capital messuage and demesne lands, and there is a certain fishery in the water of Derewent, the herbage of Coltercroft, rent of freemen within the Lordship of Catton, and rents of tenants of the soke of Catton; And there is at Kexby a certain passage over the water of Derewent. And there are at Staynfordbridge, which is of the appurtenances of the same Manor, three water mills and a fulling mill.

Also they say, that Henry de Percy held on the day on which he died, the Manor of Kirkelevyngton, with appurtenances, of John Darcy, by the service of half a knight's fee; and there is there a capital messuage.

Also he held a certain yearly rent of freemen in Beverley of the Archbishop of York.

Also they say that he held a certain tenement in Bynnyngton of Thomas de Twenge by military service.

Also he held a certain annual rent issuing from the Manors of Tadeaste and Pokelyngton, of which Manors the same Henry was for long time seized, and by his charter gave and granted them to Henry de Percy, Junior, and Marie his wife, to hold to them the rent thereof by the year to the same Henry de Percy, Senior, and his heirs, 11*l.* 12*s.* 10³/₄*d.* and doing therefor to the said and his heirs for the said Henry de Percy, senior, the services to them owing for the Manors aforesaid; so that if Henry de Percy, and Marie his wife, die without

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Also he held one messuage in the City of York of the Lord the King in burgage by the service of rendering to the same Lord the King by the year *ad husgablin* 1*d*.

Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Spofford with its members and appurtenances by the year as it is aforesaid. . .	17 <i>l</i> .	4 <i>s</i> .	0 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Toppeclife with its members and appurtenances by the year as it is aforesaid. . .	62 <i>l</i> .	16 <i>s</i> .	6 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Semere with its members and appurtenances by the year as it is aforesaid. . .	47 <i>l</i> .	11 <i>s</i> .	5 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Nafferton.	94 <i>l</i> .	0 <i>s</i> .	12½ <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Lekyngfeld	68 <i>l</i> .	6 <i>s</i> .	8½ <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Cletop	32 <i>l</i> .	5 <i>s</i> .	8 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Catton	40 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>s</i> .	10 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the value of the aforesaid Manor of Kirkeleuyngton	18 <i>l</i> .	16 <i>s</i> .	4 <i>d</i> .
Sum of the aforesaid rent in Beverley by the year		8 <i>s</i> .	
Sum of the value of the aforesaid tenement in Bynyngton		14 <i>s</i> .	
Sum of the aforesaid rent arising from the aforesaid Manors of Tadecaster and Pokenyngton	11 <i>l</i> .	12 <i>s</i> .	10¾ <i>d</i> .
Sum total by the year.	394 <i>l</i> .	7 <i>s</i> .	2½ <i>d</i> . ¹

Also they say, that Henry de Percy, son of the aforesaid Henry, is his son and next heir, and of the age of 28 years and upwards.

Also they say, that the aforesaid Henry de Percy held in service the fees and advowsons following: The Prior of Neuburgh held of the aforesaid Henry de Percy certain tenements near Folifayt and Ayketon; and Rob. le T. . . . and William le Orfeure, certain tenements in Spofford; William de Plumpton, certain tenements in Ribestan, Plumpton, Colthorp and Stokton. Robert de Sigheleston, Thomas de Lynton, William Wade, Elena de Bolyngbroke, and John de Rithre certain tenements in Lynton [Hesel] wod and Sutton. . . .

¹ The addition, as is very commonly the case in accounts and financial documents of this period, is inaccurate.

There are many other fees held of Henry de Percy in the County of York fully described.

Also they say that Henry de Percy held the advowsons underwritten, pertaining to the aforesaid Manors of Spofford, Toppecliffe and Catton, that is to say the Abbey of Salley and the Church of Spofford; Also the churches of Lekyngfeld, Arneclif, Catton, Donyngton, and the Blessed Mary, without the gate of the Castle of York.

XI. AND XII.—Inquisition taken at Alnewyk in co. Northumberland 21 March 26 Edward III. before John de Coupland, Escheator, by &c jurors who say that Henry de Percy held of the Lord the King in chief, on the day on which he died in the County aforesaid, the Castle and Manor of Alnewyk, with the towns and others under-written to the same Castle and Manor of old time appertaining; that is to say the Burghs of Alnewyke and Alnemoth; the towns of Denewyk, Lessebiry, Magna Houghton, Tughalle, Swynhowe, Chatton, Alnehame, and a certain place of pasture called Swynleysches, with appurtenances in his demesne as of fee tail, by homage and fealty, and by the service of twelve knights' fees, as parcel of the Barony of Alnewyke, and by the service of Sixty shillings yearly, to be paid to the Lord the King, at the Exchequer of the King, by the hand of the Sheriff of the County aforesaid who for the time shall be by suit to the County of Northumberland from six weeks to six weeks And the Jurors also say that the building in the Castle and Manor are worth nothing by the year beyond reprises Also they say that there is there a certain close around the castle and Manor aforesaid, which is worth in herbage by the year 20*d.* so farmed by tenants. Also there are at Alnewyk 624*d.* land of demesne, whereof every acre is worth by the year vi. farmed by the tenants, sum 72*s.* Also 10*d.* meadow, likewise of the demesne, whereof every acre is worth 15*d.* by the year sum 15*s.* Also there are other tenants who hold certain burgages and other tenements, and render by the year 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Also there are there certain free tenants who hold certain free tenements and render 3*s.* 8*d.* by the year for all service Also there is there a certain free tenant who holds certain tenements rendering by the year 6*d.*; also there is there a certain free tenant of certain tenements. and he renders by the year 6*d.*; also there are there certain bondages. Also there are there two water mills, which are in lease, and worth yearly 24*l.* of which same farm the Prior and the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel of the House of Hol. . . . receive by the year 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and they receive so much to them and their successors, brothers of the same house, as of the issues of the

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same mills, of the grant of a certain Lord of Alnewyk at the time of the foundation of the House abovesaid.

Also they say that the aforesaid Henry held there, that is to say at Alnewyke, on the day aforesaid in his demesne as of fee of the Lord the King in chief, one park called Cauleg, whereof the herbage is worth 40s. by the year. Also he held there one other park called Westpark, whereof the herbage is worth 20s. by the year. Also he held there a park called Holym park, whereof the herbage with a certain pasture called Heffordhlawe is worth 60s. by the year. Also the same Jurors say that the perquisites of the Halmote of Alnwick, are worth by the year 5s. 6d. Also they say that the profits of the Court of the Borough of Alnwick are worth by the year 6s. 8d. Also they say that the aforesaid Henry held the Mill of Northcharleton, with appurtenances as parcel of Alnwick, which is worth by the year 6l. The profits of tolls and customs of divers wares as well on fair days (Monday after St. Thomas the Martyr) as on Market days (Saturdays) at Alnwick, with the issues of the stallage there, are worth by the year 20s. The town of Devewyk in which are 66 acres of land, which used to be in the hands of the tenants whereof every acre used to be worth before the destruction made by the Scots, the enemies of the Lord the King in those parts; 8d. by the year and now lay fresh and uncultivated by default of tenants by the indigence of the County. The Borough of Alnemoth, whereof the rent, called Burghmale, is worth 4l. 3s. 6d. and there is a certain fishery in the Water of Alne which is worth by the year 3s. and the perquisites of the Court of Alnemoth are worth by the year 3s. 6d. The Manor and Town of Lesscebyr, which same Manor is destroyed from long time whereof the scite is worth in herbage 12d. by the year. The Manor and town of Magna Houghton, which same Manor is destroyed of long time. The Manor and town of Tughalle worth nothing by the year beyond reprises.

The town of Swynhowe.

The town of Chatton in which is a certain Manor which is now destroyed. Also there is there a water mill worth 8l. and thereof was paid yearly to a certain Chaplain celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel of Saint Edmund at Chatton of a grant made now long since by a certain Lord of Chatton, 4d. by the year.

The town of Alnehame.

A place of pasture called Swynley schels. The towns and parcels of lands underwritten, appertaining to the aforesaid Castle and Manor of Alnewyk, issuing of foreign tenants, that is to say the towns of Schillyngbotle, Haysaund, Gysens and Renyngton, and the fourteenth part of the hamelle of Brokesfeld, which Alexander de Hilton held, and also the

towns of Dodyngton and Wetwode, which Thomas Gray Kt. holds of the aforesaid Henry and his heirs, by homage and fealty, and the service of half a knight's fee, and by the service of rendering yearly, on the 15 July, 13s. 4d., for ward of the Castle aforesaid, and are worth by the year 100s. Also the town of Neuham, which John de la Beche Kt. and Maria de Pakenham held; the towns of Estrechenyngton and Morwyk, which Marmaduke de Lompley Kt. and David Gray holds; the towns of Burneton Preston and Scranewode, which John de Strynclyn Kt. holds, the towns of Neuton juxta Mare and Yerdhilt, which Nicholas de St. Maur holds; the town of Horton, which John Turbilluyle holds; the towns of Bodhill and Spyndelstane, which William de Dalton and William de Colleyll held; the towns of Hanehill and Ewort, which Alice de Borndon holds; the town of Edereston, which Robert de Herle Kt. holds; the town of Northcharleton, which Richard Earl of Arundell and Aliana his wife hold; the towns of Lokre and Suthcharleton, which John de Lokre holds, the town of Roke, which John de Tughalle holds, the town of Parva Houghton, which William de Radomas holds; the town of Bilton, which Aliana, who was the wife of Richard de Bilton, holds, the town of Howyk, which Thomas Gray Kt. holds; the towns of Follebiry and Caldemarton, which John de Hertwayton holds; the town of Hetton, which the Lady Isabel de Creyk holds; the town of Lybame, which Alanus del Strother holds; the hamlet of Bertewell, which Thomas de Sokpeth holds, the tenth part of the town of Swyhowe, which Henry de Swyhowe holds, the town of Rugley, which Guy Tyas formerly held. All the towns and parcels aforesaid, so held in service of the aforesaid Henry, are appurtenant to the aforesaid Castle and Manor of Alnwick; which same Castle and Manor in demesne and service are held of the Lord the King by the services abovesaid. Also of eight pounds of yearly rent out of the Manor of Beneley, by the hands of the tenants of the same.

A yearly rent of 66s. 8d. of the Manor of Suthmidelton by the hands of the tenants of the same.

Five bovates of land in the town of Wolloure. The Castle and Manor of Werkeworth, with the towns of Birlyng, Aklyngton, Rothebiry, Neweton, Thropton and Suyttre, appertaining to the same Castle and Manor, by homage and fealty and by two knights' fees, that the buildings in the castle are worth nothing by the year beyond reprises. There is also there a certain yearly rent of 40s. issuing every year from the town of Ourebotlesdon and Toggesdon, and there is there a certain fishery in the Water of Coket, and it is worth by the year 13l. 6s. 8d.; also there is there a wood called Sundreland whereof the herbage is worth by the year 5s. And there is at Aklyngton a site of a capital

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messuage worth by the year 4s. Also there is at Rothebiry a certain site of a capital messuage worth by the year 3s. 6d. Also there are 20 skalinge in the Forest of Rothebiry which are worth by the year with the herbage of the same Forest 20l. Also a certain rent called Feussitu by itselfe xtended at 14s. by the year.

The Burgh of Corbrig with appurtenances with a rent issuing from the Mill of Develeston.

Sum of the values of the Castle and Manor of Alnwick with the hamlet of Denewyk and the perquisites of the Court of Alnemouth by the year . . .	58l.	11s.	10d.
Sum of the value of Lescebury . . .	31l.	2s.	2d.
Sum of the value of Magna Hoghton	33l.	16s.	10d.
Sum of the value of Tughale . . .	22l.	3s.	
Sum of the value of Swynehowe . . .	20l.		16d.
Sum of the value of Chatton . . .	42l.		3d.
Sum of the value of Alneham . . .	20l.	19s.	5d.
Sum of the value of Swynelescheles		40s.	
Sum of the rent arising from foreign tenants for ward of the Castle of Alnewyk	12l.	4s.	10d.
Sum of the value of Benley . . .	8l.		
Sum of the value of Suthmyd-dilton		66s.	8d.
Sum of the value of Wollor . . .		22s.	4d.
Sum total of the value of the Castle and Manor of Alnwick			234l. 3s. ¹
Sum of the Castle and Manor of Werkeworth with the hamlets of Overbotilleston and Cuggesden	42l.	8s.	
Sum of the value of Birlyng . . .		106s.	
Sum of the value of Aclington . . .	22l.	7s.	4d.
Sum of the value of Rothebury . . .	45l.	3s.	7d.
Sum of the value of Neuton . . .	4l.	19s.	4d.
Sum of the value of Thropton . . .	9l.	11s.	7 ³ / ₄ d.
Sum of the value of Suytre . . .	9l.	12s.	5 ³ / ₄ d.
Sum of the value of Corbryg . . .	51l.	16s.	6d.
Sum total of the value of the Castle and Manor of Werke-worth with its members and appurtenances			150l. 14s. 10 ¹ / ₂ d. ¹

¹ These totals do not correspond with the aggregate of the items quoted.

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Also they say that the aforesaid Henry de Percy held the advowsons underwritten, appertaining to the aforesaid Castle and Manor of Alnwick that is to say the Abbey of Alnwick, the house of Holum, the Chapel of the Blessed Mary of Werkeworth, and the Chapel of Chatton.

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X.

WILL OF THOMAS DE PERCY, BISHOP OF NORWICH.¹

(P. 90.)

In the name of God Amen. We, Thomas, by Divine permission Bishop of Norwich, the 25th day of May in the year of the Lord 1368, in full soundness of mind in our Oratory at Southelham, have made and constituted our testament in this manner. First we commend our soul to God who redeemed it by his blood, and our body to be buried in our Cathedral Church of Norwich before the Choir of the Church above said. Also we bequeath to our Cathedral Church above said our principal vestment with its appurtenances. Also we bequeath to the same Church our one "Cros" and one book of Pontificals which we had of the gift of the executors of William our immediate predecessor. Also we bequeath to the Lady Margaret de Ferers, our sister, one cup gilt with one ewer of the same suit which the Earl of Suffolk gave us. Also we bequeath to the Lady Matilda de Nevill, our sister, one cup gilt with the ewer of the same which the Lord Earl of Arundell gave us.² Also, to the Lord Henry de Percy, our nephew, one ring with a ruby the best which we have. Also, we bequeath to the Lord Thomas de Percy, our nephew, one "godet" of gold which the Lord Edward de St. John gave us. Also, to Master William de Blyth, Archdeacon of Norfolk, our best chalice with the phial of the same suit, and one cup gilt with our arms engraved on the cover of the same cup after the manner of the Chalice, and one pair of our pots of gold "*cum firmato eisdem annexo*," and two basons of silver with our arms at the bottom, and one cup of silver plain, which we had from the executors of the reverend Lady our Mother. Also, to Sir William de Swynflet, Archdeacon of Norwich, one cup gilt with the arms of the Lord Bardolf, with the cover, two spoons gilt, one "*aulam tinctam super panno linco fetam linnie*," and one vestment which we bought of the same. Also, to the Lord

¹ Translated from the original will in Latin, in the library of Lambeth Palace, *Reg. Wythsey*, fol. 105^b.

² The Bishop was a grandson of Eleanor, sister of Richard, Earl of Arundel, which accounts for this gift.

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Richard Anlanby (*sic.*), one cup gilt with our arms, and the cover of the same, and one pair of our pots of "laumbre," "*cum firmacto eiusdem annexo.*" Also, to William de Aton, our nephew, one cup gilt, with one ewer gilt of the same suit, which the Lady of Wynkfeld gave us. Also, to the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in the Fields in Norwich £10. Also, to the Prioress and Nuns of Flexton £10. Also, all our books, which are contained in an indenture, to Master William de Blyth, Archdeacon of Norfolk, for the term of his life; and we will that after his decease the said books be sold and devoted for our soul & his, or that they be given to some poor places to celebrate for our souls. Also, to our Chapel, the daily . . . with chalice & "paxbred" and "foles," and the vestment appertaining thereto, to remain in our Chapel in the palace there for ever. Also, to the Lord Stephen de Cressyngham, our Dominical vestment, and one cross of gold, with foot gilt, with the holy cross in the middle of the cross. Also, to Master John de Wynston, one picture (*unam tabulam de Lumbardia depictam*), and one missal which we bought from the same. Also, to the Lord William de Malbus, one "*maser*," with one "T." at the bottom, and 10 marks. Also, to the Lord John de Catton, one other "*maser*," and 10 marks. Also, to Thomas de Watton, £10, and one other "*maser*." Also, to the Lord de Lekyngfeld, 100s. Also, to the Lord John Roldeston, our Receiver, one cup called Lyon. Also to each petty clerk (*parviis clericis*) of the Chapel, 40s. Also, to John Lynons, 40s. Also, to Master William de Kexby, 100s. Also, to Thomas de Lekyngfeld, a poor scholar dwelling at Cambridge, 60s.; to Richard de Thorton, 40s.; to Robert de Yuer, 60s.; to Robert Caly, 60s.; to William Semer, 10 marks. Also, to William Beauner, our Chamberlain, our broidered bed with all the tapestry pertaining to the same, and our robe of scarlet with furs and all things pertaining to the same, and 60s.; to Alice, wife of the said William, 60s.; to William de Hocham, 60s.; to Thomas Barbour, £4; to Richard de Naferton, our cook, 10 marks; to John de Escrik, £4; to John de Geryng, £6; to Thomas de Catton, 60s.; to Adam Wodword, 20s.; to Patrick, the baker, £4; to his son, 6s. 8d.; to Henry "*masiator*," 60s.; to Roger Rand, 100s.; to Mary, wife of the said Roger Rand, 100s.; to John Quinton, the falconer, 40s. and all our falcons, tercel-gentles, and lannerets; to Henry Kutet, 40s.; to John Nouble, 100s.; to John Foulter, 100s.; to Roger de Aula, 20s.; to Robert de Maldon, 40s.; to William Kutte, 40s.; to John Waryn, 60s. and all our saddles; to Henry Hunte, £4; to William Feutrre, 40s.; to Thomas Thornegg, 60s.; to Walter de Garderoba, 60s. and to:—John Dalton, 40s., Lotrich.

* A word is here omitted in the original document, but the bequest evidently refers to a communion service in daily use.

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13s. 4d., Robert Gylyot, 60s., John Carter, 20s., William Chariotter, 40s., John Soule, of the Kitchen, 20s., John, ye male falconer, 20s., William de Boteria, 40s., William Squiller, 20s., William of the Kitchen, 13s. 4d. William de Pistria, 13s. 4d. Nicholas Geryng, 40s. William Hone, groom of the carts, 6s. 8d. The groom of the carts of the Kitchen, 6s. 8d. Peter, the groom of the Huntsman, 20s. John de Lokyngton, groom of the Chamber, 100s. John Gonsill, groom of the Chamber, 60s. Henry Foulter, 20s. John de Helerton, cook, 20s. Henry "Paget" of the laundry, 6s. 8d. John "Paget, fowler," 10s. "Paget, Porter," 6s. 8d. "Paget, Palfreys," 6s. 8d. Robert "Paget, falconer" 6s. 8d. "Paget," of the Poultry 6s. 8d. To distribute to the poor on the day of our burial, £60. For lights around our body, £10. For clerks to say psalms around our body, 60s. To Master William Feron, 60s. Richard, de Castle Bernard, our parker at Northelmham, 60s. Richard Haunell, our parker at Southelmham, 20s. John, parker of Hoxm, 20s. William de Goldesburgh, 20s. To each of our poor whom we feed daily, 13s. 4d. To John Cotoun, 100s. And whatever residue shall be of our goods, or of fruits not bequeathed nor assigned, we will and ordain that, by view and disposition of our executors they be distributed to the poor and priests to celebrate for our soul and for payment of our debts, if there be any for which payment we are bound. For the execution of this our testament we have constituted our executors, the Lord Henry de Percy, Lord of Alnwick, Master William de Blyth, Archdeacon of Norfolk, the Lord William de Swynflet, Archdeacon of Norwich, the Lord Richard de Anlanby, Vicar of Mildnale, and the Lord William Malbus, Rector of Whetacre.

Probate of the will granted by William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 17 kalends, September, 1369, & administration committed to William de Swynflet Archdeacon of Norwich.

Commission to the Prior of Norwich and others to commit the administration of the goods to the executors.

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The Bishop was buried in Norwich Cathedral; "a gentleman," says Weever, "howsoever right honourably descended, and highly befriended, yet constrained to admit of this Bishoprike by the Pope's Provisoric Bull."—*Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 793.

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CHAP. III.

XI.

LANDS SETTLED IN DOWER UPON THE LADY MARY PLATAGENET.

(P. 92.)

Pro Henrico } Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis quod
filio Henrici de } de gratia nostra speciali concessimus, et licenciam
Percy. } dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in
nobis est, dilecto et fideli nostro, Henrico de Percy, quod ipse
Maneria sua de Poston cum pertinentiis in Comitatu Leicestriæ
et Tadecastre et Pokelynton cum pertinentiis in Comitatu
Eboraci, quæ de nobis tenentur in capite ut dicitur, dare possit
et concedere Henrico, filio suo, et Mariæ, filiæ dilecti consanguinei
et fidelis nostri Henrici, Comitis Lancastriæ: Habenda et tenenda
eisdem Henrico, filio Henrici, et Mariæ, et heredibus masculis
quos idem Henricus, filius Henrici, de corpore ipsius Mariæ
legitime procreabit, de nobis et heredibus nostris per servicia
inde debita et consueta in perpetuum, et eisdem Henrico, filio
Henrici et Mariæ, quod ipsi Maneria prædicta cum pertinentiis
a præfato Henrico de Percy recipere possint et tenere sibi et
heredibus suis prædictis, de nobis et heredibus nostris per
servicia prædicta in perpetuum, sicut prædictum est, tenore
præsentium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Nolentes
quod prædictus Henricus de Percy, vel heredes sui, aut præfati
Henricus, filius Henrici et Maria, vel heredes sui prædicti,
ratione præmissorum per nos vel hæredes nostros, Justiciarios,
Escaetores, vicecomites, aut alios ballivos seu ministros nostros
quoscumque occasionentur molestentur in aliquo seu graventur
In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud Claryndon. xiiij. die Augusti.

Per breve de Privato Sigillo.

Rot. Pat. 8 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 36.

XII.

FORTIFICATION OF BERWICK, A.D. 1364-7.

(P. 93.)

1. Writ by the King to Robert de Tughale Chamberlain of the Town of Berwick on Tweed. The King has commanded the collectors of customs in that part to pay him £100 for strengthening the Defects in the turrets walls houses and other buildings in the Castle of the said Town. Tughale is to receive the money and to cause the said defects to be repaired by the

APPENDIX.

view and testimony of the King's beloved and faithful Henry de Percy, Keeper of the said Castle, or his Lieutenant. 28 Jany. 40 Edw. III. 2. Letter from Henry Percy to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, stating that he had caused the said works to be surveyed, and sends the parcels sealed with his seal—Henry de Percy. (This is not his own signature. The letter is on paper.) June, 40 Edward III. 3. Particulars of the Expenses made by Robert de Tughale as above—A small fragment of Percy's Seal on parchment is attached by a thread to this document, which is endorsed "This roll Henry de Percy sent here under his seal 10 May 42 Edw. III."

CHAP. III.

—*Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Miscelanea. Army,* $\frac{47}{49}$ - 50, 36-42 Edw. III.

XIII.

THE EARLDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND.¹

(P. 123.)

De præfectione Comitis Northumbriæ, Rex, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Ducibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et omnibus Ballivis et Fidelibus suis, salutem.

CHAP. IV.

Constat gloriosum fore Principem et per consequens sub eo felicem existere rem publicam qui multorum nobilium et præsertim actu potentium vallatur auxilio: Nam sicut cælum stellis clarum redditur et politum, sic relucent Reges et Regna lumine dignitatum. Non quod Homo honoribus alteretur, set quia virtuosior quis efficitur qui præclaris erigentibus meritis ad honores assumitur, et dignitates præcipuas elevatur. Quis enim opinionem suam læderet, quam ad apicem dignitatis præ meritorum claritate cognosceit electam. Hæc igitur in regiæ celsitudinis armario revolvantes, ac considerantes quod præmiacio meritorum ex juste derivantis prodit imperio. Attendentesque strenuitatem prudentiam et gestum laudabilem quos in illustri et præclaro consanguineo nostro Henrico de Percy vigere conspicimus, et proinde volentes personam suam juxta claritatem generis sui ac morum suorum merita, ut per ipsius potentiam et prudentiam Regale sceptrum fulciatur, peramplius honorare, Eidem Henrico nomen et honorem Comitis dedimus, et ipsum in Comitem Northumbriæ præfecimus, ac de eisdem nomine et honore per cincturam gladii investimus: Habenda et tenenda eadem nomen Comitis Northumbriæ sibi et

¹ This is the first public document bearing the sign manual of Richard II. The roll is much injured and defaced.

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CHAP. IV. hæredibus suis in perpetuum. Et ut idem Comes juxta dicti nominis decentiam et status sui nobilitatem possit honorificentius se habere, Dedimus et concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris præfato Comiti, sub nomine Comitis Northumbriæ, viginti libras, percipiendas et habendas sibi et hæredibus suis prædictis singulis annis de exitibus ejusdem Comitatus per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus illius, qui pro tempore fuerit, ad festa Sancti Michaelis et Paschæ per equales portiones in perpetuum: Volentes ulterius de gratia nostra especiali quod omnia Castra dominia maneria terræ et tenementa, que idem Henricus jure hæreditario vel acquisitione propria perantea tenuit et possedit vel in posterum est habiturus sub honore Comitiali et tanquam parcellæ dicti Comitatus, jure aliorum in omnibus semper salvo, de cetero teneantur. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quod prædictus Henricus nomen et honorem Comitis Northumbriæ habeat et teneat, et dictas viginti libras annuas sub nomine Comitis Northumbriæ de exitibus Comitatus prædicti percipiat et habeat, sibi et hæredibus suis in perpetuum, et quod omnia Castra dominica maneria terræ et tenementa, que idem Henricus jure hæreditario vel acquisitione propria perantea tenuit et possedit, vel in posterum est habiturus, sub honore Comitiali et tanquam parcellæ dicti Comitatus jure aliorum in omnibus semper salvo, de cetero teneantur, sicut prædictum est. Hiis testibus, Venerabilibus patribus, Simone Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati, W. London, S. Wynton, A. Menevensi, Cancellario nostro, Thoma Exoniensi, Episcopo, Johanne Rege Castelle et Legionis et Duce Lancastriæ, Edmundo Comite Canteburgiæ, Thoma de Wodestok, Constabulario Angliæ, avunculis nostris carissimis, Guidone de Bryen, Ricardo Lescrop, et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium die Coronationis nostræ anno regnorum nostrorum primo. Per ipsum Regem.—*Charter Roll, 1 Richard II. m. 1.*

XIV.

GARRISONS OF BERWICK AND ROXBURGH.

(P. 124.)

Account of Henry de Percy Earl of Northumberland Warden of the King's Castle of Berwick on Tweed as well of receipt and those 100 marks which he receives for the custody thereof (according to the letters patent of the King's grandfather dated 23rd Sept. in his 8th year), as of the wages of 30 men-at-arms whereof 1 knight, 40 archers, and 20 watchmen, put by the

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same Earl in the Town of Berwick for its safety, and also of a certain yearly sum of £300 which Thomas de Percy Warden of the King's Castle of Rokesburgh receives according to an Indenture between the King's said grandfather and the same Thomas dated 21st April in his 51st year.

CHAP. IV.
—

Moneys received from the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* His own fee from 12th April 51 Edw. III. to 1st December following; also wages of 1 knight, 29 esquires, 40 archers, and 20 watchmen, from 27 August, when Thomas de Musgrave, Warden of the said Town, was taken by men of Scotland, till 1st Dec.; also fee of Lord Thomas de Percy for custody of the Castle of Rokesburgh from Midsummer last till 1st December (at the rate of 300*l.* per annum):—in all 410*l.* 15*s.* 7½*d.* Surplus due to him 44*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.*

—*Exchequer, Queen's Rememb. Miscelnea. Army,* $\frac{50}{4}$, 1-4 Richd. II.

XV.

WARDENSHIP OF ROXBURGH CASTLE.

(P. 125.)

Account of Sir Thomas Percy, Knight Warden of the King's Castle of Rokesburgh. His own fee is £300 yearly, according to an Indenture between King Edward III. and him, 21 April 51 Edward III.

Moneys received from the Exchequer, 375*l.* Moneys due to him for the said fee in time of truce as well as in time of war, according to the Indenture, from 1 Decr. 1 Ric. II. to Midsummer 4 Ric. II., 768*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* Surplus due to him, 393*l.* 11*s.* 11½*d.*

A copy of the Indenture is annexed. The wardenship is granted to him for three years, and Sir Thomas undertakes to safely keep the Castle in the King's behalf, and to maintain it at his peril and at his own costs. The Deed is in French, and fragments of the seal are attached.—*Exchequer, Queen's Remem-*

brancer, Miscelnea. Army, $\frac{50}{4}$, 1-4 Richd. II.

XVI.

SIR THOMAS DE PERCY'S INDENTURE TO SERVE IN FRANCE.

(P. 126.)

Account of Sir Thomas de Percy, knight, of his receipts wages and rewards at war, and of 100 men-at-arms, and the wages of 200 archers being with him in the King's service

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CHAP. IV. (obsequio) in the parts of Britany and France in the company of Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, in 4 Ric. II. according to an Indenture between the King and the said Thomas de Percy, dated 10 May, 3 Ric. II., in which it was contained that the said Thomas retained under the King with 200 men-at-arms and 200 archers in the voyage aforesaid for one whole year; which men-at-arms shall consist of the said Thomas, 12 knights and 187 esquires. And the same Thomas shall receive for himself and his retinue the customary wages of war, and for himself and the said men-at-arms the customary reward doubled, with reasonable costs for the re-passage over the sea of himself and his retinue, by the King's writ of Privy Seal dated 20 May, 5 Ric. II., enrolled in the Memoranda of the Exchequer, Michas, 6 Ric. II., whereby the Treasurer and Barons were ordered to account with him, deducting in discharge of the King what ought to be reasonably deducted for the ransoms of castles, towns, and other fortresses in France and Britany, and the wages of persons killed or taken prisoners, and also moneys paid to the same Thomas by the Duke of Britany.

Total of moneys received from the Exchequer and from the Duke of Buckingham, 562*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* He received no moneys for ransoms of castles towns or fortresses, as he says on his oath. He does not account for 14,729 francs of gold part of 30,000 francs of gold received by William Lord de Latymer and himself from John Duke of Britany, for that he is to account therefor jointly with the executors of the said Lord.

Then follows a much mutilated account of moneys spent for wages, rewards, and "re-passage."—*Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Miscelnea. Army,* $\frac{51}{1}$, 3-6 Ric. II.

XVII.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S RETINUE.

(P. 138.)

Rotulus de retinentiâ Henrici de Perci, primi istius cognominis Northumbriæ Comititis, in bello Scotico.¹

Le Count de Northumbř.

Mons' Henry de Percy, le Fiz. (Hotspur.)

Mons' Hugh le Dispensier

Mons' Gerard' (?) Salvayn

Mons' Rich' Goldesburgh'

Mons' Thoms de Boynton

Mons' Rich' Noithland'

Mons' Johan Fauconer

¹ This heading is in a much later hand than the rest of the roll.

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Esquiers—(25 names).

Archiers—(78 names).

CHAP. IV.

- Mons' Johan de Roos
 Mons' Wauter Fauconbergh'
 Mons' Bertrame Monbochier
 Mons' John' Darcy (and 19 others—Esquiers and Archers)
 Mons' Will' de Hilton' (and 70 others)
 Le Sir' de Welles
 Mons' John' Malberthorp'
 Mons' Henr' Fiz Hugh'
 Mons' Robert de Laton'
 Mons' Ph' Colvyll'.
 Mons' Maw Redman
 Mons' Joh' Coupeldyk' (and 62 others)
 Mons' Johan de Felton' (and 12 others)
 Mons' Thom' Vghtred (and 10 others)
 Mons' Johan Caluelay (and 15 others)
 Mons' William Fulthrop' (and 28 others)
 Mons' Rich' Tempest (and 26 others)
 Struck out. { Mons' Johan Conyers (and 4 others)
 { Mons' Will' de Wessyngton (and 7 others)
 { Mons' Henry Inglehouse (and 117 others)
 Struck out. { Mons' Robert de Plumpton' (and 3 others)
 { Mouns' Nich' de Meddelton' (and 3 others)
 { Mons' Andr' Loterell' (and 6 others)
 { Mons' John Blount (and 3 others)
 { Mons' Rauf Euer (and 48 others)
 { Mons' Robert Hilton' (no others)
 Struck out. { Mons' Robert Constable (and 7 others)
 { Mons' Piers Mauleuerer (no others)
 { Mons' Henry de la Vale (and 1 other)
 { Mouns' William de la Vale }
 { Will' son fiz }
 { Thom' de Thorp' }
 { Will' de la Vallesne }
 { Mons' Thomas de Ilderton' (and 17 others)
 Struck out. { Mons' Geffray Seintquintin
 { Mons' John' Cornwaylle
 { Mons' Bertram Monboucher. (A blank left here.)
 Mons' Thomas de Percy le fiz
 Mons' Will' de la Vale
 Mons' Henr' de la Vale
 Mons' Piers Mauleverir
 Mons' Robert Constable
 Mons' John Blownt

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Mons' Andr' Lutrell'
 Mons' Nicoll' de Midelton'
 Mons' Robert de Plompton'
 Mons' John Conyers
 Mons' Will' Wessyngton'
 Mons' Bertrame Monbochier
 Mons' Joh' de Hothorn (and 114 others—and 86 archers)
 Wauter Tailboys (and 43 others)
 xiiij^{xx} x. lanc' extra Northumbr'.
 Thomas Gray de Heton' (and 54 others)
 Eamon' Heron' (and 8 others)
 John' de Fenwyk' (and 31 others)
 John' de Thirlwall' leisne (and 9 others)
 Mathew Whitfeld' (and 11 others)
 Nich' Raymes (and 30 others)
 Wauter Heron (and 23 others)
 Thomas Umfravyll' (and 29 others)
 William Carnaby (and 18 others)
 William Swynburne (and 11 others)
 Thomas Gray de Horton (by himself)
 John' de Clifton (and 19 others)
 Patrik Sampson' (and 28 others)
 John Mitford (and — others)

The end of the roll is mutilated: how many names are here lost is uncertain.

Vallett' Armat'¹ (26 names).

Sagittar': (57 names).

—*Cottonian Charters*, xiii. No. 3.

XVII A.

PRUDHOE CASTLE.

(P. 139.)

The subjoined document authorising the Earl of Northumberland to quarter the Lucy arms,² in consideration of the lands

¹ The Valetti armati are elsewhere described as armed yeomen, who appear to have formed part of the different companies and who are always distinguished from the archers.

² "The first of our nobility y^t quartered another coat was Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who quartered his own coat with y^t of Valence of y^e House of Lusignan, in whose right he had that Earldom, and shortly after Matild', sister and heir to Anthony, Lord Lucy, gave all her lands to y^e heir male of y^e Lord Percy, her second husband, conditionally y^t her armes being 3 Lucyes and Gules would be quartered always with Percy's Lion or: rampant in or; and hereupon a due was levied temp. Richard II."—*Camden's Remains*, p. 225.

settled upon him by his second wife, the sister and heiress of Lord Lucy, and widow of the Earl of Angus, recites the various estates then in possession of that lady in her own right; and as Prudhoe Castle is not among these, there is *prima facie* reason to doubt the statement of most of the genealogists, including Dugdale and Collins, that this Barony came into the Percy family by the Earl's second marriage.

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia Domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in Octabis Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regnorum Ricardi Regis Anglie et Francie octavo coram Roberto Bealknapp' Willelmo de Skipwyth Rogero de Fulthorp' Johanne Holt et Willelmo de Burgh' Justiciariis. Et postea in Octabis Sancti Michaelis anno regnorum eiusdem Regis Ricardi supradicto ibidem concessa et recordata coram eisdem Justiciariis et aliis Domini Regis fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus Inter Henricum de Percy Comitem Northumbrie et Matill[idem] uxorem eius querentes et Johannem Waltham clericum Johannem de Mitford' et Ranulphum de Fres-Renay deforciantes de Castro et Honore de Cokermouth' et de Maneriis de Wygton' Braythwayt Popecastre Lousewater Dene Caldebek' Vlnedale et Aspatrik cum pertinentiis et de duobus mesuagiis cum pertinentiis in Carliolo quatuor Milibus acrarum pasture quatuor Milibus acrarum bosci cum pertinentiis in le Westwarde in Allerdale et medietate Manerii de Kirkebride et de tercia parte Baronie de Egermond cum pertinentiis et de advocacionibus ecclesiarum de Dene Kirkebride et Vlnedale ac Capelle Sancti Leonardi de Wigton' in Comitatu Cumbrie Et de Castro et Manerio de Langeley cum pertinentiis in Comitatu Northumbrie Vnde placitum conuencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem Curia scilicet quod predicti Comes et Matill' recognouerunt predicta Castra Honorem Maneria tenementa medietatem et terciam partem cum pertinentiis et advocaciones predictas esse Jus ipsorum Johannis Johannis et Ranulphi De quibus iidem Johannes Johannes et Ranulphus habent predicta Castrum et Honorem de Cokermouth Maneria de Wigton' Brathwayt Popecastre Lousewater Dene et tenementa cum pertinentiis et predictas aduocaciones predictarum ecclesiarum de Dene Kirkebride et Capelle de dono predictorum Comitis et Matill' Et pro hac recognitione sine et concordia iidem Johannes Johannes et Ranulphus concesserunt predictis Comiti et Matill' eadem Castrum Honorem Mania et tenementa cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones Et illa eis reddiderunt in eadem Curia Habendum et tenendum eisdem Comiti et Matill' et heredibus masculis de corporibus ipsorum Comitis et Matill' exeuntibus de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia inde debita et consueta imperpetuum Et preterea iidem Johannes Johannes et Ranulphus concesserunt pro se et heredibus suis quod predicta

Maneria de Caldebek et Vlnedale et medietas predicti Manerii de Aspatrik cum pertinentiis que Eufemia que fuit vxor Reginaldi de Lucy tenuit ad terminum vite Et eciam quod predicta Castrum et Manerium de Langley et altera medietas predicti Manerij de Aspatrik et predicta tertia pars cum pertinentiis et predicta advocacio predictae ecclesie de Vlnedale que Matheus de Redemayn Chivaler et Johanna vxor eius tenuerunt ad terminum vite ipsius Johanne de hereditate predictorum Johannis Johannis et Ranulphi die quo hec concordia facta fuit Et que post decessum ipsarum Eufemie et Johanne ad predictos Johannem Johannem et Ranulphum et heredes suos debuerunt reverti post decessum ipsarum Eufemie et Johanne integre remaneant predictis Comiti et Matill' et heredibus suis predictis Tenenda simul cum predictis Castro Honore Manerij tenementis et aduocacionibus que eis per finem istum remanent de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia inde debita et consueta imperpetuum Ita quod si ijdem Comes et Matill' sine herede masculo de corporibus suis exeunte obierint tunc post mortem eorundem Comitum et Matill' omnia Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictae heredibus de corpore ipsius Matill' exeuntibus integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Et si eadem Matill' sine heredibus de corpore suo exeunte obierit tunc omnia predicta Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictae Henrico de Percy filio predicti Comitum et heredibus masculis de corpore ipsius Henrici filii Comitum exeuntibus integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Ita quod ipse et dicti heredes sui masculi arma prefati Comitum que sunt de auro cum uno leone de azureo rampante quarteriata cum armis de Lucy que de Goules cum tribus lucis argenteis consistunt gerant in omnibus vexillis penonibus tunicis armorum et in omnibus aliis armaturis suis que de pictura cognicionum armorum solito competunt adornari quociens cogniciones armorum in actibus bellicis vel alibi ostendere voluerint vbicumque Et si idem Henricus filius Comitum sine heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeunte obierit tunc post mortem ipsius Henrici filii Comitum omnia predicta Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictae Thome de Percy Chivaler fratri predicti Comitum et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Et gerendo arma predicta quarteriata in omnibus modo et forma predictis Et si idem Thomas sine herede masculo de corpore suo exeunte obierit tunc post mortem ipsius Thome omnia predicta Castra Honor

Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictæ Thome de Percy Chiualer filio predicti Comitis et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Et gerendo arma predicta quarteriata in omnibus modo et forma predictis Et si idem Thomas filius Comitis sine herede masculo de corpore suo exeunte obierit tunc post mortem ipsius Thome omnia predicta Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictæ Radulpho de Percy filio predicti Comitis et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Et gerendo arma predicta in omnibus modo et forma predictis Et si idem Radulphus sine herede masculo de corpore suo exeunte obierit tunc post mortem ipsius Radulphi omnia predicta Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis et aduocaciones predictæ rectis heredibus predictæ Matill' integre remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia predicta imperpetuum Ita quod si predictus Henricus filius Comitis et heredes sui predicti si qui eorundem superstites fuerint postquam prefatus Comes obierit sine herede masculo per ipsum de corpore ipsius Matill' procreato vel si prefatus Thomas frater Comitis et heredes sui predicti si qui eorundem superstites fuerint postquam predicti Comes et Henricus filius suis obierint sine talibus heredibus vt predictum est vel si predictus Thomas filius Comitis et heredes sui predicti si qui eorundem superstites fuerint postqm quilibet predictorum Comitis Henrici filii Comitis et Thome fratris Comitis obierit sine talibus heredibus vt predictum est vel si predictus Radulphus et heredes sui predicti postqm quilibet predictorum Comitis Henrici filii Comitis Thome fratris Comitis et Thome filii Comitis obierit sine talibus heredibus vt predictum est arma predicta quarteriata modo forma et locis predictis statim non gesserint seu si prefata Matill' per aliquem heredum predicti Comitis per ingressum processum legis vel iudicium in aliqua Curia Domini Regis vel heredum suorum reddendum aut alium modum quemcumque de Manerijs de Petteworth' Lekyngfeld' Catton' et Corbrigg' cum pertinentiis vel de aduocacionibus Prioratum ecclesiarum Hospitalium et Capellarum ad predicta Maneria de Petteworth' Lekyngfeld' Catton' et Corbrigg' pertinentibus vel aliquibus alijs terris tenementis redditibus serviciis seu reversionibus cum pertinentiis de quibus ipsa cum prefato Comite sibi et heredibus ipsius Comitis coniunctim soffata existit vel de aliqua parcella eorundem amota fuerit extunc totus supradictus status de predictis Castris Honore Maneriis tenementis medietate et tertia parte cum pertinentiis

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et aduocacionibus predictis qui post mortem predictorum Comititis et Matill' et heredum suorum ac heredum eiusdem Matill' predictorum prefatis Henrico filio Comititis Thome fratri Comititis Thome filio Comititis vel Radulpho et heredibus suis predictis si condiciones predictae forent obseruate remanere deberet omnino cesset vacuus sit adnulletur et pro nullo penitus habeatur et tunc omnia eadem Castra Honor Maneria tenementa medietas et tertia pars cum pertinentiis ac aduocaciones predictae statim post mortem predictorum Comititis et Matill' et heredum suorum ac heredum predictae Matill' predictorum rectis heredibus eiusdem Matill' remaneant Tenenda de Domino Rege et heredibus suis per seruicia predicta imperpetuum Et hec concordia facta fuit per preceptum ipsius Domini Regis."

From "Feet of Fines, Divers Counties" in the Record Office,

8 Rich. II., No. 109.

In the Denton MS.¹ the acquisition by the Percies of Prudhoe Castle, which was an ancient possession of the Umfrevilles, is accounted for by a supposed marriage of a daughter of that house with the first Earl of Northumberland, but there is not an atom of evidence to support such a theory.

The Records of the Queen's Bench, however, furnish what appears to be a perfectly satisfactory solution of the question. From one of these Rolls² we learn that Gilbert Umfreville, Earl of Angus, on the marriage of his only son, Robert, with Margaret, daughter of the second Lord Percy of Alnwick, in 1340, settled upon them certain lands, including the Castle and Barony of Prudhoe. On the death of this Robert Umfreville during his father's lifetime, without issue, the estate was placed in trust for the benefit of the widow, with reversion to the Earl and Countess of Angus, and at their death to the said Margaret's nephew, Henry Percy, and his heirs.

Although, then, Prudhoe Castle did not come into actual possession of the first Earl of Northumberland until the death of his second wife, his acquisition of this property was in no way connected with his marriage to that lady, who had only a life interest in it.

¹ A collection of "Evidences" relating to the Percy family, by Thomas Denton, of Gray's Inn, and of Warnell Hall, Cumberland, who for many years filled the office of "Steward of the Courts" to the eleventh Earl of Northumberland and to his daughter and heiress, afterwards Duchess of Somerset. Dr. Thomas Percy described this MS. (then in possession of John Fenton Clerk, Esq., of Carlisle) as "full of mistakes, but containing some things I never met with elsewhere." The alleged marriage of the first Earl of Northumberland with an Umfreville is certainly one of these things. ² For the text of this document see Appendix XXXIV.

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XVII B.

CAPTURE OF SIR RALPH PERCY AT OTTERBOURNE.

(P. 151.)

Froissart, whose English nomenclature is always puzzling and capricious, names "Sir Johan Makyrell," a knight in the service of Lord Moray, as Ralph Percy's captor, and Lord Berners in his translation assumes this to be a mis-spelling of "Maxwell," not knowing, perhaps, that there had existed an old family bearing the former name in the south-west of Scotland. Holinshed, on the authority of the untrustworthy Boece (*Scotland*, p. 398), claims the honour for Keith, Marischal of Scotland; and modern historians, including Sir Walter Scott, have accepted the statement, although there is no evidence of Keith having taken part in the battle.

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The right of ransom of prisoners of war was frequently transferred from the actual captor to other persons. The terms of the charter under which the Fyvie lands were transferred to Sir Henry Preston by Sir James Lindsay,¹ King Robert's brother-in-law (and who was himself taken prisoner after this battle by the Bishop of Durham²) "*pro redemptio D'ni Radulphi de Percy, Militis Anglica*," do not therefore establish his claim to the capture.

The question is now only of interest as indicating the high military reputation which Ralph Percy had attained, and the importance which the Scots accordingly attached to his capture.

XVIII.

THE LORDSHIP OF ARUNDEL.

(P. 170.)

Petition (dated about October, 1398), sent through Sir William le Scrope, Lord High Chamberlain, by John Holland, Duke of Exeter,³ after the deceased Earl of Arundel's rights in his lands in Sussex had been granted to him by the King.

"LE ROY AD GRANTE,

"Ple' au tresexcelent et tresredoute Seigneur Notre Sire le Roy, de sa grace especial garauntier a votre liege Johan Holand,

¹ The Castle of Fyvie did not come into possession of Sir Henry Preston till nine years later, when Thomas Colvil, son of the Lord of Oxenham, transferred it to him in return for a loan of £100. See *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 5.

² See *Froissart*, vol. ii. p. 402.

³ A younger son of the Earl of Kent, who grew into great favour with Richard II., and was by him created Earl of Huntingdon in 1388, and Duke of Exeter by patent dated September 29, 1398.

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Duc Dencestre, touz les homages foialtes et services les queles le Count de Northumbreland et ces Auncestres tout dys devant ces oeures, renderont et fesceront a Richard jadys Count d' Arrundell, et a ces auncestres, pur le manoir de Petworth, et touz ces autres manoirs terres et tenementz en les Contees de Sussex et Surrey; nient contrestecant ascun ordenance ou mandement fait a contrairie devant ces heures et ceo pur Dieux et en oevre de charitée.

“WILLIAM LE SCROP.”

Cotton MSS. See Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, i. 78.

XIX.

THE OFFICE OF HIGH CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND.

(P. 193.)

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem.

Sciatis quod nos Debito mentis intuitu considerantes Magnifica ac nobis et toti Regno nostro fructuosa et Summè Necessaria, Labores Custus et Obsequia, quæ dilectus et fidelis Consanguineus noster, Henricus de Percy, Comes Northumbriae, pro Extirpatione et reformatione diversorum defectuum et errorum in Regno prædicto ad verisimile exterminium et finalem destructionem tam procerum magnatum et aliorum nobilium quam coitatum ejusdem regni nuperimè pululantium in nostri præsentia, postquam ad regnum prædictum, Præmissorum intuitu, Deo duce, declinavimus multipliciter effudit et impendit ac exhibit indefesse et volentes proinde præfatum Consanguineum nostrum aliquali remuneratione licet, non condignâ, Honoris Prerogativa, prout multiplices Gestus sui nobiles nos inducant, præmiare,

De Gratia nostra speciali etc. etc. CONCESSIMUS eidem Consanguineo nostro OFFICIUM CONSTABULARII ANGLIÆ, HABENDUM et EXERCENDUM per se et sufficientes deputatos suos pro quibus respondere Voluerit, AD TERMINUM VITÆ SUE una cum Feodis et Proficiis ac omnibus aliis ad officium prædictum spectantibus sive pertinentibus, adeo plenè et integrè sicut aliquis alius officium prædictum, ante hæc tempora, habuit sive occupavit.

In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Septembris, etc.—*Ret. Pat. Henry IV.* p. 1, m. 15.

XX.

GRANT OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

(P. 193.)

"Rex omnibus ad quos," etc. De Gratia nostra speciali et ex certa scientia nostra Dedimus et Concessimus eidem Comiti Northumbriæ insulam castrum Pelam et dominium de Man ac omnia insula et dominia eidem insule de Man pertinentia, quæ fuerunt Willielmi le Scrop Chivaler defuncti, quem nuper in vita sua Conquestati fuimus, et ipsum sic conquestatum decrevimus, et quæ, ratione conquestus illius, tamquam conquestata cepimus in manum nostram. Quæ quidem Decretum et Conquestus in parlamento nostro de assensu dominorum Temporalium in eodem parlamento existentium, quo ad personam præfati Willielmi, ac omnia terras et tenementa bona et Catalla sua, tam infra dictum regnum nostrum, quam extra ad supplicationem Communitatis dicti regni nostri, affirmata existunt.

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Habenda et tenenda eidem Comiti et hæredibus suis, omnia Insulas, castrum Pelam et dominium prædicta, una cum Regaliis, Regalitatibus, Franchesiis, Libertatibus, Portubus Maris, et omnibus ad portum rationalibiter et debite pertinentibus, Homagiis, Fidelitatibus, Wardis, Maritagiis, Releviis, Escaetis, Forisfacturis, Waifis, Streyfis, Curiis Baronum, Visibus Franciplegii, Letis, Hundredis, Wapentachiis, Wrecco Maris, Minera Plumbi et ferri, Feriis, Mercatis, liberis Consuetudinibus, Pratis, Pasturis, Boscis, Parcis, Chaceis, Landis, Warennis, Assartis, Purpresturis, Chiminagiis, Piscariis, Molendinis, Moris, Mariscis, Turbariis, Aquis, Stagnis, Vivariis, Viis, Passagiis ac Communis et aliis Proficuis, Commoditatibus, Emolumentis, et Pertinentiis quibuscumque, ad Insulas Castrum Pelam et Dominium prædicta qualitercumque pertinentibus, sive spectantibus, simul cum Patronatu Episcopatus dictæ insulæ de Man, nec non feodis militum, Advocationibus et Patronatibus Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, Hospitalium, Ecclesiarum, Vicariarum, Capellarum, Cantariarum ac aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, quorumcumque ad eadem Insulas Castrum Pelam et dominium similiter pertinentibus, de nobis et Hæredibus nostris IMPERPETUUM PER SERVITIUM PORTANDI, DIEBUS CORONATIONIS NOSTRE ET HÆREDUM NOSTRORUM, AD SINISTRUM HUMERUM NOSTRUM, ET SINISTROS HUMEROS HÆREDUM NOSTRORUM, PER SE IPSUM, AUT SUFFICIENTUM ET HONORIFICUM DEPUTATUM

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SUUM, ILLUM GLADIUM NUDUM, QUO CINCTI ERAMUS QUANDO IN PARTIBUS DE HOLDERNESSE APPLICUIMUS, vocatum LANCASTER SWERD, durante Processione et toto tempore Solemnizationes Coronationis supra dictæ, adeo plenè liberè et integrè (excepto Servitio prædicto) sicut præfatus Willielmus, seu aliquis alius Dominus ejusdem Insulæ, Insulas Castrum, Pelam et Dominium illa, cum omnibus supradictis, temporibus retroactis, melius habuerunt et tenuerunt.

DEDIMUS insuper et CONCESSIMUS eidem Comiti omnia Bona et Catalla, quæ fuerunt prædicti Willielmi, infra dictam Insulam de Man existentia, et quæ ad nos pertinent ratione Conquestus supradicti, Habenda de Dono nostro. In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium XIX die Octobris
Per ipsum Regem."

—*Rot. Pat.* i *Henry IV.* p. 5, m. 35.

Not the least remarkable feature of this document is the barbarous Latinity of its technical terms, such as "Waifis, Streifis, and Wrecco Maris."

XXI.

EMOLUMENTS OF THE EARL OF WORCESTER.

(P. 194.)

A.D. 1399.

The King on 13th December i Hen. IV. (in consideration that Thomas de Percy, Earl of Worcester, who obtained of the gift of King Richard II. to him and the heirs male of his body, for the maintenance of his estate as Earl, certain lands, to the yearly value of £400, which belonged to Thomas Duke of Gloucester and Richard Earl of Arundel, deceased, and to Thomas Earl of Warwick, could not enjoy the grant so made to him for that in Parliament lately holden the said lands were restored to the inheritors, and that he had restored the letters patent of Richard II. to be cancelled), granted to the same Earl 500 marks from the Exchequer by letters patent to him and his heirs male; and on 5th July 2 Hen. IV. the King granted him the 100 marks yearly which Edward III. had given him for life or until that King should do something else for him, as also the said 500 marks, to be received from the issues of the Castle and County of Pembroke and other places (named) in Wales. The said grants are said to be invalid because they do not mention other gifts made to him, according to the Statute i Hen. IV.

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The King now confirms all past payments made to the Earl, and the grant of the said 100 and 500 marks, to him and his heirs male. The Earl also has of the gift of Richard II. £100 yearly for life from the Sheriffs of London, £100 at the Exchequer of Kaermerdyn in South Wales, and 500 marks from the Manor of Eye in Suffolk; also 100 pounds of the gift of the King's father [John of Gaunt] for life from Knaresburgh in co. York; the Castle of Emelynhuckyrth in co. Kaermerdyn and the commote there, with fines, redemptions, and other appurtenances, for life; and to his assigns for two years after his decease, of the gift of Ric. II.; the Castle, town, and lordship of Haverford in Wales, for life, of the gift of Ric. II.; the Manors of Neuyn and Pulthely in co. Kaernarvan, with the mills of Guennes and Geynth, for life, of the gift of Ric. II.; the prises of wines coming to the port of Milford, for life, of the gift of Ric. II.; £20 yearly from the farm and issues of the City of London and County of Middlesex, for life, of the gift of Ric. II.; £20 yearly from the issues of the County of Worcester to him and his heirs male, of the gift of Ric. II.; and 18*l.* 10*s.* yearly from the King's Exchequer to him and his heirs male, of the gift of Ric. II.; all which gifts the King confirms. Dated 24th October.—*Patent Rolls*, 4 *Henry IV.* p. 1, m. 21.

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XXII.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCOTLAND.

(P. 196.)

The Earl of Northumberland to the Council.

Reverentz pieres en Dieu, treschiers et honorez Sires et compaignons, veuillez savoir que jay nouvelles du Duc de Rothissay, coment il luy plect bien que le jour du trectee parentre luy et moy et les autres commissairs du Roy mon Sr. souverain serra le xxv. jour d'Averill prochain venant, sur le Estmarche. Par quoy vous prie chèrement que vous charger le clerc des roulles de faire copies et transcriptz des roulles, recordz, et evidences Descocce appartenantz a la corone Dengleterre, et eux delivrer a Meistre Aleyn de Newerk, et luy charger destre a moy a Alnewyk le xx. jour d'Averill susdit. Et outre ce, par cause que le dit Duc inoy ad certifiez que certains ambassiatours de Francee vorront estre hastivement en Escocce, au fin pur estre compris en le trectee affaire par entre la partie Descocce et la partie Dengleterre, et son desir est que les ditz Franceoys ne serroient compris en lour

Blithe.
24 March,
1401.

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(Signed)

LE CONTE DE NORTHUMBR',
Conestable Dengleterre.

Addressed)

As reverentz pieres en Dieu, treschers et honorez Sires et compaignons, les grandz officers et conseillers du Roy mon souverain, ore esteantz a Loundres.

Addl. MSS. 4601, art. 170, Brit. Museum.

XXIII.

THE REBELLION IN WALES.

(P. 202.)

Petition of William Tudor to Sir Henry Percy.

From Conway
Castle.
[1401.]

Cest est la supplicacioun William ap Tudire, quest,¹ en le chastell' de Conway, pur luy et pur Rys son frere, a lour gracios Sr. Monsr. Henry Percy, justice de Northgales, de pursuer al gracios Sr. le Roy, pur quere a eux grace et pardon desoutz le patent le Roy de touz chosez qils ount faiet, tanqal jour de la deliverance de dit chastell', cestassaver, lourz vies et corps a large, et leurs terrez, tenementz, et biens, par C. marcz de fine, a cause de lour poverte, et qils sount robbes appaiers ou assemblera qe soit affaier au Roy ou al Prynce, et pardon a lour vadletz, et as ceux qui sount ovesque eaux en le chastell', et ount medlez ovesque eaux, et confirmacioun de le Prynce de ceo, et le surement de Monsr. Henry Percy, justice de Northgales, de ce alower; et sils eient cella ils deliverent le chastell', et lez biens qui sount en ycelle, au Roy, ou au dit Monsr. Henry, en noun de Roy, forsprys viaunde et boer qils dispenderent parentre cy et celle temps; et auxi, quaut ils deliverent le chastell', de amesner eaux saufment saunz perill' a lour hostell' et force; et que nenveiera brefs ne baillefs puis cele temps de eaux troubler ne prendre pur celle cause; et que ne soit accioun a lez burgeisez de la ville de

¹ 1st in printed copy.

Conway encountre eux ne nuls de lour vadletz pur le arsure del ville ne spoliacioun ne nule autre chose que fuist par devaunt cestez ; et quaut tout ce vendra a eux et soit delivere a lour meynes ils deliverent le chastell' come devaunt est dist. Et auxi supplie le dit William a mon dit Sr. Henry de Percy, justice etc., qil ne tretera ne traveill[er]a pur ly, sil ne veie qe le Roy est en bone volonte de graunter a eux la dit grace, saunz malys ou disceit, einz soeffrir a ly sauer sa vie et sez compaignons sy longe come Dieux plerra ; et respounce de dit Sr. sur ceo en brefe temps sil ferra ceo pursuer ou nemie. Et sy ne semble au Roy qe soyt resoun qe lez burgeis neient accioun encountre eux pur ascune chose qils fierent avaunt sez heures, supplient ils au Roy pur chescun chose, qe lez burgeis dient sur eux, et ils devyent davoit enquest indifferent, lune moyte des Gales et lautre dez Englys ; ou autrement, sy surmettera gentil homme dez burgeisez sur Rys ou William arsure de la ville ou spoiler, ou estre assentantz a cella, ils purverent oue lour corps qils nent sount coupables ; et sy valet de burgeisez dirra sur eux, ils proverent par vadlet de leurs. Et sy le Roy voet de sa grace graunter a eux la dit pardon, et puis qils ount liveres le chastell' au Roy, ils supplient davoit space de demi an a demurer en la paiis, et pur treter ovesque chescun qi demaunde rien a eux, saunz playnt ne chalange ne arest deinz le dit temps.—*Cotton MSS. Cleop. F. III. fol. 17^b.*

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XXIV.

THE HOTSPUR CORRESPONDENCE.

(P. 202.)

A.—SIR HENRY PERCY TO THE COUNCIL.

Reverentz Piers en Dieux et treshonurez Srs. Vous pleiase assavoir, qe jay resceu une lettre de prive scale notre Sr. le Roy par avise de soun Counsaile, ovesque certenez ordinancez desoutz le graunt seale, par lez quelles moy chargez aiaer proclamer la dit ordinance deinz lez bowndez de noun office de justice, solonc qe moy semblera meut affaier. Et auxi jay resceue une autre lettre du dit prive scale, moy chargeant qe disornevaunt nulle homme Galeys ne soit justice, chamberlayn, chaunceller, seneschall', resseyvour, maistre forstre, viscount,

Denbigh.
10 April
1401.

¹ This petition having been submitted to the King by Hotspur with a strong recommendation in its favour, the pardon claimed was granted in the following July. See *Fiedera*, vol. viii. p. 209.

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eschetour, ne constable de chastell', ne gardein des rollez ne recordour, en Gales, mes qe Englis soient en mesmez loffices, et qils soient demurrantz sur yceux en propre persoun, forsprys le Justice et son lieutenaut : de quellez ordinauncez moy chargez defaier hasty execucioun sy avant come a moy partient. As quex maters, reverentz piers en Dieux et treshonurez Srs. jeo ferray moun leall' devoyr a meutz qu' jeo saveray, par avyse de autres de Counsaile moun treshonure et redote Sr. le Prynce esteantz en cestez parties, cyant consideracioun a ceux q' ont este de bone porte au Roy et moun dit Sr. le Prynce, a cest temps de prys de le chastell' de Conway suisdit, et le plusement a cest foitz, sy vous semble, pur le greindir surte temps avenir. Et aux, reverentz piers en Dieux et treshonurez Srs., quaut a ceo qe en lez ditz deux lettres mavez escritz, qe jeo face bien et sauvement garder touz lez chastell' queux jay en gard pur terme de vice ou autrement en les ditz parties, sy qe en ma defaut nulle perill damage ou perd naveine a mesmes les chastell', ne a roialme ; et ceo moy chargez en les ditz deux [lettres] sur foy et ligeance, et sur payne de forfeitur dez mesmes lez chastell', et des profitez a yceux appartenantz, saunz iammez delors destre restorez ou resceuez a lez ditz gardez ou ascuns dycellez : a quelez voilliez savoir, qe jeo nay deinz Gales nules chastell' en ma gard, forsque deux, pur quex jeo respoude et respoudera, come jay faiet et pensa faier auxi loialment moun devoir come ascune liege qe le Roy ad denz lez ditz parties, affiant en vous, mez Srs., qe en cas tiele mischeife aveine, come jammez ne ferra, sy Dieux plest, en ma defaut, qe vous voudrez estre a moy auxi eise come as autres de moun petit estate en cas semblable ; et sy jay faiet, ou purra faier en temps avenir, icy ou aylours, bone service au Roy, moun souveraigne Sr., qe vous voudrez ayder qe jeo usse tiele regard come resoun et le cas requerroit ; qar a moy semble qe jeo naye rien en cestz parties, mes qe le Roy de soun graciosus Seigneurie moy ad fraunchement donez, et bien ly pleist qe jay bien disservie. Reverentz piers en Dieux et tres honurez Srs., autres nescrive a present, mes voz nobles pleisers moy voilliez maunder dez ditz maters, et touz autres voz pleisers, les quex jeo sera prest de parfourmer a moun petit poiar. Sy pry a Dieux qe vous aiet en sa tressaintime garde. Escrit a Denbegh le x^e jour daprill.

HENRY PERCY.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, F. III. fol. 16.

B.—SAME TO THE SAME.

Carnarvon.
2 May, 1401.

Reverentz piers en Dieu et treshonures Srs., jeo me recomence a vous. Et voilliez saver qa le fesance dycestez la pais d' Northegalez, en quelle jeo suy teignaunt mez sessions, et

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bien entendantz et obeisant en toutz poynts a le loy, forspris ceux rebelles qi sont deinz le chastelle d' Conewey, et Rees, qi est en lez montayns, quellez serront tresbien chastiez, si Dieu pleast, par la force et governance qe moun redoute Sr. le Prince y ad envoie, sibien de soun conseil' come de soun retenue, pur tenir sege devaunt lez rebellez en le dit chastell; quelle sege, sil poet estre contenue tanqe les ditz rebelx soient pris, serra graund eas et profit a le governance du dit pais en temps avenir. Et auxi, reverentz piers en Dieux et treshonurez Srs., lez comons du dit pais de Northegalez, cest assaver, lez conteez de Carnarvan et Meryonythe, qi ont este devaunt moy a present, ont humblement mercie moun redoute Sr. le Prince de la graund travail de sa benigne voluntee qil ad pursue a notre souverain Sr. le Roi pur leur gracieuse pardoun, luy empriant humblement de soun confirmacion desoutz soun scal, offerant pur luy doner par leur bone voluntee, outre toutz duettes sanz request dascun, tiel et auxi graund somme come ils ont done a Roi Richard, quaut il fuist leur Roi et leur Prince, come le portour dycestez vous sceit pleynement declarer. Et dautrepart voillez remembrer coment pluisours foitz jay pursue a vous pur payment dez soldours du Roi en la ville de Berewyk, et sur lestmarche Dengleterre, les quellez sont en si graunt poverttee, qils ne purront porter nendurer pur defaute du payment; et pur ceo vous supplie dordener qils purront estre paieez en manere come fuist taille entre le Tres[orier] et moy a nostre darrein entreparlance, si meillour payment ne purray avoir, qar autrement moy covient venir devers vous pur le dit payment, toutz autres chosez lessez. Reverentz piers en Dieux et treshonurez Srs., autres ne vous say escrier a present, mez jeo prie le Seint Esprit qe vous maynteigne en tout honour et joy solonc vostre desires. Escrit a Carnarva[n] le iije jour de Maij.

HENRY PERCY.

Gardein de lestmarche Dengleterre vers Escote.

Ibid. fol. 16^b.

C.—SAME TO THE SAME.

Tresreverentz piers en Dieux, et treshonures et treschers Srs. jeo me recomance a vous. Et vous please assavoir qe jenvoie devers moun tresredoute souverain Sr. le Roi et vous moun bien ame amy Jamez Strangways, le portour dycestez, pur vous declarer tout lestate dez marchez et pais pardeca, sibien del orgoyll et governance dez rebelles et de leur conforte, come de moun fait et governance vous et de moun purpos en avaunt selonc moun poair et les grauntz labour et costagez qe moy faute a suste[nir], et ay fait, pur la graunt busoigne et necessitee qe jeo veie en la pais, lez queux en bone foy sont a

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Denbigh.
17 May,
1401.

CHAP. IV. — moy si importable qe outre le fyn de ceste moys, ou deinz iij. ou iiij. jours ensuantz, jeo le puisse nullement endurier ; a quelle temps vous please de mettre tiel ordenaunce come vous verrez necessaire, quaut vous averez bien entendue lestate du pais ; et en le mesne temps jeo mettray tout ma payne par terre et par meare en corps et en biens pur faire bone service qe jeo purray, come le dit portour dycestez vous savera declarer ; en affiance qe vous y voillez avoir consideracione solonc voz sagez discrecionez a mez ditz labour et costagez, et ordenir tiellement pur la pais . . . re le dit temps qil ne veigne a tiel meschief come est apparant, qe Dieux defende. Tresreverentz piers en Dieux, et treshonurez et treschers Srs., autres ne say a present, mez nostre Sr. vous eit en sa seintisme garde. Escrit a Dynbiegh le xvije. jour [de] Maii. HENRI PERCY.

Ibid. fol. 26^b.

D.—SAME TO THE SAME.

Denbigh.
4 June, 1401.

Tresreverentz piers en Dieu, et treshonurez et mez t[reschers Srs.], jeo me recomank a vous. Et dez novellz pardeca, sil vous pleist assavoir, jeo vous ay nadgars escript et certefiez par moun bien ame Jamez Strangways lez novellez et lestate de ceste pais ; mez [pui]s soun partier jeo voie pluis de perille et meschief en la pais qe jeo ne fys adonques, ensi qe si bone et hastie remedy ne so[it] purvieu sibien par terre come par mere, tout la pais eit en grand perille pur estre destrui[t] sanz doute par lez rebellez, si jeo parte hors de ceste pais devaunt qe ordeignance soit purvieu pur ycelle ; le quelle moy faut affaire de nessessitee, qar jeo ne puisse porter lez costagez qe jeo face ycy sanz autre ordenaunce par vous. Et touchant ceo qe ad este fait par moun treshonure uncle ¹ [et] les autres Srs. en sa compaignee, jesp[oir]e qil vous ont ad certefiez, et de moun fait en ceste chivachee, par terre et par mere, par mez souldeours, paieez a mez proprez dispencez ; et de le journey qe javoie le xxx. jour de Maii darrein a Catherederys, Dieux mercey ; le portour dycestez, Johan Irby, fuist present ovesqe moy illoques, vous soit declarer ceo qil vist, sibien come de moun fait qe jeo iay fait, et unqore face outre poiar, considerant le meschief qest ycy. Et touchant aide promys dez Srs. marchers, moun Sr. Hughe Browe fuist ovesqe moy ove xij. lancez et C. archers de moun treshonure cosyn le Counte Darundelle, sanz ascun autre aide de nully, forsqe a mez dispencez proprez. Et pur ceo tiel ordeignance come vous semblera voillez ordener pur cest pais, qar jeo nattend pas ycy mez vostre response et volutee par le dit Jamez Strangways dez materes suisditz. Et dautre partie, voillez

¹ Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester.

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savoir qe moy sount venuz novellez, mesine cest jour, de le Sr. de Pawys, coment il ad combatuz ovesqe Owane de Glendorde, et luy descomfitz, et plusours de sez gentz blessez, en soun chemyn vers moun treshonure uncle et moy, come il inad certefiez, dont jeo merceye Dieux. Et auxi jay novellez cest jour de mez gentz qe jay ordenez sour le meare, coment ils ont pris a Bardesay, qe furont pris des Engleys par les Escotz, et dilleoques ils pursueront une nief Descoce jes [ques al] coste de Milforthe, et la pristerent le dit nief, ovesqe xxxv. hommez bien hernaysez, dont je mercie Dieux. Tresreverent piers en Dieux et treshonurez et [mes] treschers Srs., autres ne say a present, mez jeo prie a Dieux qil vous eit en sa tresseinte garde. Escrit a Dynb[iegh] le iiiiij. jour de Juyne.

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—

HENRY PERCY.

Ibid. fol. 27.

E.—SAME TO THE SAME.

Tresreverentz piers en Dieux et mez treshonurez Srs. jeo me recomanc a vous. Et vous please remembrer coment jay pursuez vers le Roi moun souverain Sr. et vous diverse foitz pur la payement qe mest duez pur la marche Descoce, dont je suy gardein, sibien pur ceo qestoit aderere a le darrein Parlement, come davoit payement en avaunt sur Hull et Bostone, solonc le patent eut grauntez par le Roi moun souverain Sr. susdit a moun tresredoute Sr. et pier et moy, par avis de vous, mez Srs. de soun graunt Conseille, dont jespoire qe vous avez bone conisance. Et touchant le debt a moy duez a moun darrein partier de Londrez, le Roi nostre souverain Sr. susdit chargea soun Tresorer qe lors estoit pur la dite matere, et le dit Tresorer moy disoit qe sil fuist greable a vous autres, mez Srs. du graunt Conseille, qil ordener[oit] qe jeo serroie paieiz de ij M. marc3 en monoy entour cest Pentecost darrein, et qe jeo serroie servis par assignement de le remenaunt qe moy fuist duez a pluis tost qe faire ceo purroit ; pur quelle argent et assignement avoir jay fait mez servauntz pursuer, sibien a Londrez come a Hull et Bostone susdit, destre paieiz solonc leffect de la dite graunt et patent, sanz aucun denier rescceyver unqes depuis moun partier dilleoques, mez a moy graunt costage, et travaille a mez servauntz, sanz nulle exploit. Et come jey entenduz a le darrein Parlement, quaut la necessitee de roialme fuist moustrez par vous. mez Srs. de graunt Conseille, as Barons et Comons de roialme, il estoit demandez par toutz lez marchez Caley3, Guyene, et Escoce, la meer, et Irlande, come pur guerre et la marche Descoce estoit limitez a xxxviij. M. livres, ou pluis ; et la ou le payment de temps de trievez a moun

Swyneshede.
3 July, 1401.

¹ This letter is classed under the correspondence of the year 1401 in the Cotton MSS., but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of this date ; its contents appear to assign it to the following year.

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dit Sr. et pier et moy duez namonte qe a v. Ml. livres par an, ne poet estre paieez, en bone foy jeo moy doigne graunt mervaille, et moy semble qe vous mettez lez ditz marchez trop a nouchaloir, queux serront trovez lez pluiz fortz enemys qe vous avez, ou autrement qe vous nagrees poynt de nostre service en lez ditz marchez; et si vous serchez bien, jespoir qe le greindre defaute que vous trovez en lez ditz marchez est defaut de payment, sanz quelle vous ne trovez nulle qi vous poet faire tiel service. Sur qoy, tresreverentz piers en Dieux, et mez treshonorez Srs. jay escript a Roi moun souverain Sr. susdit. en suppliant qe [si] ascun male aveigne a sez ville, chastelles, ou marche, qe jay en governance, pur defaute de payment, qe Dieux defende, qe je nay poynt de blame, mez ceux qe ne moy voillent paier, solonc soun honorable mandement et voluntee. Tresreverentz piers en Dieux, et mes treshonorez Srs. ne vous displease qe jescrive nounsachantment en ma royde et feble manere de ceste matere, qar necessitee le moy fait faire, noun pas seulement de moy, mez auxi de mez souldours, qi sont en tresgraunt mischief, sanz remedy du quelle je ne puisse ne ne ose aler vers lez ditz marchez, pur quelle vous supplie et requerre dordenir solonc qe vous semble busoignable. Sy prie a Dieux qe vous eit en sa seintisme garde. Escrit a Swyneshede le iij^e. jour de Juyillet — *Ibid.* fol. 7^x and 32.

XXV.

APPEAL FOR THE SOLDIERS' PAY.

(P. 209.)

The Earl of Northumberland to the Council.

Newcastle.
30 May, 1402.

Tresreverent et reverentz pieres en Dieu, honorez Sires et treschers. Veuillez savoir que moy et mon filz H. sumes obligez par endenture destre al chastell de Ormeston en Escoce le primer jour d'augst prochain, pur recevoir le dit chastell, et de ce avons hostages, sil ne soit mesme le jour rescouse par bataille; sur quoy jay escrit a mon souverain Sr. le Roy, come vous poet apparoir par ses lettres. Et vous requere et prie de cuer, que eiantz consideration al aventure, labour, et travail' que moy et mon susdit filz purposons par grace de Dieu a faire pur avancement des guerres celles parties, honur du Roy mon dit Sr., et profit de tout le roialme, auxi qe a celle heure les enemys illoques et de France, ove les rebelles de Gales, serront en lour plus grand orgoill', de queux Francoys est dit qils serront fortifiez encontre le dit jour, vous voillez, del tendre affieccion que vous avez al bone estat du roialme, par voz sages discrecions eider que je et mon

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dit filz poions a ceste feste de la Nativitee de Seint Johan prochein estre confortez et paieez ou chevez de ce que nous est due, et que ce purra estre deliverez a Johan de Ambell', clerc, et Richard Hamme, esquier, portour de cestes, et les oier croier de la dite matire, et bonement exploiter, au fin que al dit feste de Seint Johan nous poions savoir de quoy nous purrons certainement affier. Tresreverent et reverentz pieres en Dieu, honrez Sires et treschers, je prie Dieux qil vous eit touz jours en sa garde. Escrit al Noef Chastell' sur Tyne le xxx. jour de May.—*Cott. MSS. Vespasian, F. VII. fol. 23.*

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XXVI.

PRINCE HENRY IN THE WELSH WARS.

(P. 211.)

The King to the Council.

Depar le Roy.

Reverentz peres en Dieu, et noz treschiers et foiaulx, nous vous saluons souvent, savoir vous faisantz qe nous avons entendu, tant par la contenue de certaines lettres de nostre treschier et tresame filz le Prince, a nous presentes par noz bien amez Maistre William Feriby, Chancellor, et Johan de Watertoun, escuier de mesme nostre filz, come par leur report, la bonne exploit de nostre dit filz es parties de Gales, ainsi que pris en avons tresgrand plaisir. Si volons et vous prions et chargeons, que au fin que nostre dit filz puisse le mieulz continuer a resister a la malice de noz rebelx Galois, sicomme il a bonnement commence, al honneur de nous et de nostre royaume, quelle chose il ne pourra faire sil nait de quoy, vous facez ordenner incontinent, veues cestes, que nostre dit filz soit paieez de mil livres en maniere comme il estoit ja tarde par vous appointez et accordez; et que du remanent a lui ordenne par la dicte cause, vous lui facez purvoier de si hastive paiement comme faire ce pourra en aucun maniere, au fin quil pourra tenir ses gens ensemble, qui sont en point a departir de lui pour default de paiement de leur gages, sicomme enformez sumes. Et ceste chose preignez ainsi a cueur, qen nostre absence, a cause du propos par nous pris vers les parties Descoce, quelle nous pensons tenir sanz default, pour y donner aide et confort a noz treschers et foialx cousins le Conte de Northumbr' et Henry son filz a la bataille par eux honnourablement entrepris pour nous et nostre royaume contre les Escotz, noz ennemys, damage ne peril aviegnent a noz marches de Gales, que Dieu ne vuille, sicomme vous desirez nostre honneur

Higham
Ferrers.
10 July, 1402.

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sauver. Quel bataille finiez a lonneur de nous et de nostre dit royaume Dieux devant, nous nous transporterons en tout haste possible vers les dictes parties de Gales pour y demourer et tenir nostre houstel, espoirans en Dieu que par celle voie bon fin et brief se fera de la rebellion que longuement y a duree, que Dieu vuille estre par sa puissance. Reverentz peres en Dieu, et noz treschiers et foiauxx, nostre Sr. vous ait en sa garde. Donne soubz nostre signet a nostre ville de Hygham Ferers le x^{me}. jour de Juillet.

Reverentz peres en Dieu, et noz treschiers et foiauxx, nous vous mandons que a nostre ame escuier Elmyr Leget portour de cestes vous donnez foy et creance de ce qil vous dira depar nous touchant les dictes matires; et que a nostre ame escuier Johan Wodehous vous donnez aussi ferme creance de ce quil vous dira depar nous sur les informaciones par lui a vous a donner depar nostre dit filz, et en ce faire lexploit que vous pourrez. Donne comme dessus.—*Cott. MSS. Cleop. F. III. fol. 44^b.*

XXVII.

KING HENRY'S FIRST MENTION OF THE REBELLION.

(P. 217.)

The King to the Council.

Depar le Roy.

Burton-on-
Trent.
17 July, 1403.

Reverentz pieres en Dieu, et noz treschiers et bien amez Nous, de ladvis des Srs. chivalers et escuiers estantz de present pardevers nous, avons fait ordenner et divider une copie dune lettre, la quele nous vous envoions close deinz icestes, vuidantz et vous mandantz, si vous veiez que se soit affaire, que adessoubz nostre prive seal facez faire, veues cestes, noz lettres, selonc le purport du dicte copie, a estre adressez a nostre cousin lercevesque de Canterbirs et a tous noz autres prelatz et seigneurs, pieres de nostre royaume, sibien espirituelx come temporelx, au fin qils purront estre signifiez de noz propos et governance; et ce ne lessez en nule manere. Toutes voies vous faceons assavoir que Henry Percy, qi sest levez contre nous et nostre regalie, come est dit, et sicome jatarde certifiez vous avons, nous nappelle fors Henry de Lancastre, et fait aussi diverses proclamacions parmy le countee de Cestre, que le Roy Richard est encore en vie, a lentente dexciter nostre poeple de lever avec luy, en afforce[m]ent de son faulx propos, si ainsi soit; mais nepurquant vous signifions pur vostre consolacion que la Dieu mercy nous sumes asses fort encountre

tous les malveillantz de nous et de nostre roiaume, et volons que vous tous hastiez devers nous quelque part que nous soïoms, sinoun le Tresourer, le quel nous vuillons, sil soit aussi vostre bonn advys, qil demoert en celles parties, pour faire toute la chievance qil poet de monoie en cest nostre grant besoigne. Donne soubz nostre signet a nostre ville de Burton sur Trente le xvij. jour de Juillet.

Mes treshonurez Srs., savoir vous plaise, que yce Mercredy ¹ je contray le portour de cestes, et ne vous displease que je overay les lettres, car je ne savoy quel hast ils demandent; mes desicome eles facent mension de lettre que serront faites desoubz le prive seel, vous supplie que, sil semble a vostre tressage discrecion que tielles lettres sont affaire, adonques facez fin que mes autres compaignons de les fere prest a le seel, et jenveiera a vous, que je aura bien tost par votre message. Monsr. le Chanc[eller].—
Cott. MSS. Cleop. F. III. fol. 112.

XXVIII.

THE PERCY CHALLENGE TO HENRY IV.

(P. 219.)

“We Henry Percy Erle of Northumberland, High Constable of England and Warden of the West Marches of England towards Scotlande, Henry Percy, our eldest sonne, Wardein of the Easte Marches of England towards Scotlande, and Thomas Percy, Erle of Worcester, being proctours and protectors of the Comon wealth, before our Lorde Jesu Christ, our Supreme Judge, doo alledge, saie and entende to proue with our handes personally this instante daie, agaynst thee Henry Duke of Lancaster, thy complices and fauorers, uniustly presuming and named Kyng of England, without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy fautors: that when thou after thyne exile diddest entre Englande thou madest an othe to us upon the Holy Gospels, bodely touched and kissed by thee at Doncastre, that thou woldest never claim the crowne, Kyngdom or State royall, but onely thyne owne propre inheritance and the inheritance of thy wife in Englande; and that Richard our Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng and thyne, should raigne during the terme of his life, gouerned by the good counsail of the Lordes spirituall and temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy Sovereigne Lorde and our Kyng, within the toure of London, vntil he had for feere of death, resigned his Kyngdomes of England and France, and had renounced all his right in the forsaid Kyngdomes, and others his dominions and landes of beyonde the sea. Vnder coulour of whiche resignacion and renunciacion by the counsail

¹ 18 July.

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of thy frendes and complices, and by the open noysyng of the rascall people by thee and thy adherents assembled at Westminster, thou hast crowned thyselfe Kyng of the realmes aforesaid, and hast seized and entered into all the Castles and Lordshippes pertainyng to the Kynges Croune, contrary to thyne othe. WHEREFORE THOU ART FORSWORNE AND FALSE.

"ALSO we do alledge,saie and entende to proue,that where thou sworest vpon the same Gospelles in the same place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffre any dismes to be leuied of the Clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallagies and taxes to be leuied on the realme of Englande to the behoffe of the realme duryng thy life, but by the consideracion of the three estates of the realme, except for great nede in causes of importance, or for the resistance of our enemies onely, and none otherwise: Thou, contrary to thyne othe so made, hast done to be leuied ryght many dismes and fiftenes, and other impositions and tallagies, as well of the Clergie as of the Commonaltie of the Realme of Englande, and of the marchants for feare of thy Magestie royall. WHEREFORE THOU ART PERJURED AND FALSE.

"ALSO we doe alledge saie and entende to proue that where thou sworest to vs vpon the same Gospelles in the foresaied place and tyme, that our Sovereigne Lorde and thyne, Kyng Richarde, should raigne during the terme of his lyfe in his royall prerogative and dignitee: thou hast caused the same our Sovereigne Lorde and thyne, traiterously within the Castell of Poumfrēt, without the consent or iudgement of the Lordes of the Realme, by the space of fiftene daies and so many nightes (whiche is horrible among christian people to be heard) with honger thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered. WHEREFOR THOU ART PERJURED AND FALSE.

"ALSO we doe alledge, saie and entende to prove, that thou at that time, when our Sovereigne Lorde and thyne, Kyng Richarde, was so by that horrible murder ded as above saied, thou by extorte power, diddest usurpe and take the Kyngdome of Englande, and the name and the honour of the Kingdome of Fraunce, unjustly and wrongfully, contrary to thyne othe, from Edmonde Mortimer, Earle of Marche and of Ulster, then next and direct heire of Englande and of Fraunce immediatly by due course of inheritance after the decease of the aforesaid Richard. WHEREFORE THOU ART PERJURED AND FALSE.

"ALSO we do alledge saie and entende to prove as aforesaid, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and tyme, to supporte and maintein the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande, and also afterwards at the tyme of thy coronacion, thou madest an othe, the saied lawes and good customes to kepe and conserue inuiolate: Thou fraudulently and contrary to the law of Englande and thy fautors, have written almoste through every

shire in Englande to chose such knightes for to holde a parliament as shall be for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy Parliamentes no justice should be ministered against thy mynde, in these our complaintes now moved, and shewed by us, wherby at any tyme we might have any perfight redresse, notwithstanding that wee, according to our conscience (as we trust ruled by God) have often tymes thereof complained, as well can testifie and bere witness the right reverend fathers in God Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of Yorke. Wherefore nowe by force and strength of hande before our Lorde Jesu Christ, we must ask our remedy and helpe.

"ALSO we do alledge, saie and entende to prove, that when Edmond Mortimer, Erle of March and Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor in a pitched and foughten field, and cast into prisone and lade with yron fetters, for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast proclaymed willingly to yield himself prisoner to the said Owen Glendor, and nether wouldest deliver hym thyselfe, nor yet suffer us, hys kinsmen, to ransome and deliver hym : Yet notwithstanding we have not onely concluded and agreed with the same Owen for his ransome at our propre charges and expences, but also for a peace betwene thee and the said Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared us as traytours, but also craftely and deceitfully imagined purposed and conspired the utter destrucion and confusion of our persones.

"For the which cause we defy thee, thy fautoures and complices as comon traytours and destroyers of the realme, and the invaders, oppressoures and confounders of the very true and righte heires to the Crowne of Englande, which thyng we entend with our handes to prove this daie, Almightye God helping us."¹

XXVIII A.

DELIVERY OF THE REMAINS OF HOTSPUR'S BODY TO
HIS WIDOW.

(P. 227.) -

Hartshorne² quotes the following writs for the delivery of Hotspur's scattered remains to his widow:—

"For the Head and Quarters to be delivered.

"Percy.

"Whereas of our special grace we have granted to our cousin, Elizabeth, who was the wife of Henry de Percy, Chivalier, the

¹ *Hall's Chronicle*, as translated from the original Latin text in the *Harleian MSS.* 661. See also Ellis's edition of *Harding's Chronicle*. Strange to say, *Walsingham* makes no reference to this important document, of the existence of which he could not have been ignorant.

² *Federal and Military Antiquities*, p. 206.

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—

head and quarters of the same Henry to be buried. We command you that the head aforesaid placed by our command upon the gate of the city aforesaid you deliver to the same Elizabeth to be buried according to our grant aforesaid.

“Witness the King at Cirencester the 3rd day of November.”

“By Writ of Privy Seal.”

“The King to the Mayor and Sheriff of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, greeting.

“Whereas (as above) we command you that you deliver to the said Elizabeth a certain quarter of the said Henry placed upon the gate of the city aforesaid to be buried according to our grant aforesaid.”—*Rot. Claus.*, 5 Henry IV. m. 28, 3rd Nov. 1403.

The same roll contains the King's order to the abbot to bury the body of the Earl of Worcester in the Church of St. Peter at Shrewsbury, and the certificate of the delivery of the head and quarters of Hotspur's body to his widow.

XXIX.

SURRENDER TO THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS OF ALNWICK,
WARKWORTH AND OTHER CASTLES.

(P. 229.)

Dated about
September
1403.

Les nouns as queux lettres serront adreeses, sil plect a nostre souverain Sr. le Roy et a son Conseil, desouz le grand seal des armes du Conte de Northumbr', pur la livree de les chasteaux desouz escriptes.

En primes, pur la livree du chastel de Alnewyk a Monsr. Gerard Heron, soit une lettre adreesee a William Worthington conestable dicel, Sire Johan Wyndale, Chapellain, William Rodom, Johan Middelham, Thomas Clerk de Alnewyk, Richard Bonde, et a chacun de eux.

Item, pur la livree du chastel de Werkworthe a Monsr. Johan Mitteford, soit une autre lettre faite a Monsr. Henri Percy, Johan Creswelle, conestable dicel, et a Richard Aske, et a chacun de eux.

Item, pur le chastel de Prodhowe, soit une autre lettre directe a Monsr. Robert Lyle, conestable dicel, de le garder.

Item, pur le chastel de Langlee, soit faite une autre lettre a Odard de Redlee, conestable [dicel], de la garder.

Item, pur le chastel de Cokermouthe, soit une autre lettre adreesee a Monsr. William de Leghe, conestable dicel, et

pur garder aussi a celui qi serra assignez par nostre dit Sr. le Roy et son Conseil la garde de to[uz] les prisoners Escotz et autres deinz mesine le chastel a loeps nostre dit Sr. le Roy, cestassavoir, du Conte de Fyff [et] dautres.

Item, soient lettres faites desouz le dit seal a Monsr. Henri de Percy et a Richard Aske, pur leur trehir [par]devers nostre dit Sr. le Roy, sicome accordez feust parentre nostre dit Sr. le Roy et le Conte de Northumbr' susdit.

Item, soient autres lettres adreesees a Sire Thomas Anlaby et a dit Johan Wyndale, clerics, pur faire ordenner pur lapparaill du dit Sr. Henry et pur les coustages de sa venue vers nostre Sr. le Roy susdit, par manere come ils avoient en comandement par lettres desouz le prive seal nostre dit Sr. le Roy; considerant ce que le Sire de Say ad delivere monoye au dit Thomas Anlaby par endenture pur la cause susdite.

Item, soit ordenne par nostre dit Sr. le Roy et son Conseil, pur les coustages affaire desore enavant pur la gouvernance de les chasteaulx susditz.

Item, en cas que les susdites persones ne vuillent delivrer les chasteaulx susdites par vertue de les dites lettres, ensi a fairez que breifs de contempt soient faitz par la cause susdite.

Item, soit ordenne as ceux les chastelx serront delivrez, et que garrantz soient faitz [a celui que leur paiera] pur les coustages.

Item, que justices soient assignez pur seir a la ville de Noef Chastel, sur la delivrance de . . . et en le contre la environ.

Item, sil plect a nostre dit Sr. le Roy et a son Conseil, dordenner que briefs soient faitz a Monsr. William Clifford, lui chargeant estreitement pur delivrer a loeps nostre dit Sr. le Roy le chastel de Berwyke a celui qi a ce serra assigne.

Item, que commissions soient faites au gardein de lestmarche vers Escoce, et a son lieutenant, pur recevoir les rebelx illeoques, a grace par manere come ad este fait pardevant.

Item, que un visconte soufficeant soit ordennez illeoques pur le profit du Roy.

Item, que une lettre desouz le prive seal soit faite a Johan de Aske, pur chivacher a son frere Richard de Aske, et pur lui conseiller de venir avec lui en sa compaignie vers le southe.

Item, que un bon et sage gouvernour soit ordennez pur touz les terres, chasteaux, et seigneuries du dit Conte de Northumbr', tanqe ils soient mys en bone gouvernance, sil plect a nostre dit Sr. le Roy et a son Conseil.

Item, lettre a Monsr. Gerard Heron, pur recevoir le chastiel de Alnewik, et une autre lettre a Monsr. Johan Mitteford, pur recevoir le chastiel de Werl:worthe, en promettant paiement pur la garde.

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Item, lettre a Johan de Aske, en lui signifiaint qe le Roy voet qe Henri filz Thomas de Percy¹ et Richard Aske, frere du dit Johan, viennent pardevers le Roy; et pour ce face le susdit Johan envoyer a son dit frere qil soy transporte pardevers le Roy.—*Cott. MSS. Vespas. F. VII. fol. 64.*

XXX.

CREDENTIALS OF LORD SAY.

(P. 229.)

Dated about
September
1430.

La credence donnee au Sire de Say par le Conte de Westmerland, pour declarer au Roy nostre Sr.

Primerement, il semble au Conte de Westmerland et as autres grantz et sages cestes parties, qil serra prouffitable pour nostre Sr. le Roy de soy treer vers les parties de North' tanque a Pontefreit, ou la entour, apres sa venue hors de Gales, quant lui plerra, pour letablissement du pais et la sauvacion de la pees, et pour pleuseurs autres bonnes et necessaires causes celles parties.

Item, comment les valetz qestoient de la liveree du Conte de Northumbr', ymaginantz et faisantz appert rumour qe nostre dit Sr. le Roy est mort, et qe le dit Conte est a large, et est venu devers eulx, ceulx de Northumbr' et de Leveschee de Duresme disantz qil est a Everwyk, et ceulx du contee Deverwyk qil est a Beverley; par quoy ils font assemblees, privez et appertz, et pluseurs chivachent devers lui, leur cressans as braas.² Par quoy leur malice contre notre dit Sr. overtement appert, et leur entent est de faire insurreccion en ce qils purront, dont il covient de prendre hastive avys, et estre ordonne qe serra fait de mesmes les livrees de cressans.

Item, en especial, par cause que le chastel de Berewyk est detenuz par fort main, et aussi que les chastelx de Alnewyk et de Werkworthe, et autres fortelettes celles parties, ne sont uncore en tiele obeissance come appartient, il serroit bon qe nostre dit Sr. ferreit mesner par meer vers le North' engyns, canons, artillerie. et autres choses necessairs pour assautz des chasteux, sibien pour terroure des disobeissantz, come pour necesitee, sil convient.

Item, il semble boun pour envoyer briefs de chargeance forme alias pluries et contempt, a Monsr. William le Conble. du chastel de Cokermouth, pour deliverer le dit chastel al oeps de nostre dit tressouverain Sr., et davoir lettres auxi del dit Conte souz son grant seel qe ce soit fait.

¹ The Earl of Worcester is not known to have been married.

² The Percy badge.

Item, quant un parlement, ce soit al avys de nostre tres-souverain Sr. et de soun Conseil.—*Cott. MSS. Vespas. F. VII.* fol. 66.

XXXI.

SURRENDER OF JEDWORTH CASTLE.

(P. 232.)

Inspeximus and confirmation by the King of an agreement made at Pontefract 9th July 5 Hen. IV. between the King and his Council (named) of the one part, and the Earl of Northumberland of the other part; that the Earl shall deliver to the King's commissioners as follows, viz. the Castle of Berwick-on-Tweed, with Percy Tower, and "le foil del Coket," with the rent of 500 marks yearly from the customs of Berwick, to Sir Robert de Normanvill; and the Castle and Forest of Jedworth, with royalties, advowsons &c. (as in the charter of Edward III. to "Henry Sire de Percy," grandfather of the said Earl,) to Robert Swynowe; between the feast of Saint Margaret and the 1st August next; on condition that the King with the assent of Parliament or of his Great Council shall give to the Earl and his heirs lands and tenements to the same value as the Castles above named. In default of performance hereof, the King will cause the Castles to be re-delivered to the Earl. The Earl to have all his goods therein, or their value. Dated at Lichfield, 27th August, 1403.—*Rot. Pat.* 5 Henry IV. p. 2, m. 7.

XXXI A.

WRIT FOR THE QUARTERING OF THE BODY OF HENRY,
FIRST EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(P. 239.)

After the engagement at Bramham Moor the following writ was addressed to the mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs of Berwick, Newcastle, York, and Lincoln:—

"We command you, strictly enjoining that you receive one quarter of the body of Henry Percy, late Earl of Northumberland, a traitor to us, which quarter shall be delivered to you on our behalf, and that you cause the same to be placed in the place of the city aforesaid [the site being in each case specified] in the manner which in like case heretofore hath been accustomed to be done.

"Witness the King at Westminster the 10th day of March" [1407].

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CHAP. V.
—

Four months later (2nd July) writs were issued to the same persons directing the interment of the Earl's remains. And the Mayor of London was by a special writ commanded to deliver the head, which had been placed upon London Bridge by royal command, "to the Bearer of these Presents," with a view "to be buried in Holy Sepulture."

XXXII.

HENRY PERCY'S PETITION TO THE PARLIAMENT.

(P. 245.)

Petition of Henry Percy, son of Henry Percy, son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, that whereas the King has of his own motion and grace "enabled" the said Henry to the name estate and inheritance of the Earl of Northumberland,¹ notwithstanding the rebellion and forfeitures of his father and grandfather, the said ability may be enacted in the present parliament; and that he may have all the lands and other possessions which were entailed to his said father and grandfather, or their ancestors, and that he may have entry into the same by petition or other process; to hold to him and the heirs of his body begotten, notwithstanding that *he is under age and detained in Scotland against his will*. And that the blood between his father and grandfather and himself and his heirs was attainted for the cause above said; saving to the King the forfeitures of all lands &c. of which his said ancestors were seized in fee simple; and providing that the Petitioner, when he comes to England, shall do homage to the King. Which petition the King granted by authority of parliament on condition that the Petitioner do sue to the Chancery and prove what was given in tail to his ancestors before he enter into any of the lands or tenements which he claims to be thus entailed to him, saving to the King the forfeitures of lands held in fee simple, as above, and also all other lands held to the use of the Petitioner's father and grandfather." —*Extract from Rolls of Parliament 2 Henry V.*

¹ The usual practice in similar cases was to cause the act of attainder to be formally revoked by Parliament with the effect of restoring the next of kin to the *status quo ante*. There is no record, however, of any such proceeding in this instance, and the instrument under which Henry Percy resumed the ancestral title (Charter Rolls 3 and 4 Henry V. No. 6), makes no reference to the original earldom, but (being worded for word with exception of the date and subscribing witnesses, identical with the charter of the first Percy earldom), appears to have been intended as a new creation, rather than a restoration.

It was owing to the exceptional course thus adopted that Henry Percy's resumption of the earldom did not carry with it the restitution of the lands forfeited by the attainder of his grandfather, the transfer of which still remained subject to the royal bounty, and to parliamentary sanction, after he had taken his seat in the House of Peers.

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XXXIII.

RELATING TO PERCY LANDS HELD IN FEE TAIL.

(P. 245.)

Act of Parliament for the heirs of Henry Percy, Thomas Percy late Earl of Worcester, Henry Percy, late Earl of Northumberland, and of Thomas late Lord Bardolf, and others. Whereas in Parliament, 5 Henry IV., an Act was made that lands held by Henry Percy, Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, and other traitors who were at the Battle of Shrouesbury, in trust for other persons, should not be forfeited, and that any grants made thereof by the King should be void, provided that the King should have the forfeitures of their own lands which they held by inheritance or purchase, or which were held to their use. And whereas by another Act of 7 Henry IV., a similar enactment was made with respect to land held in trust by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, or Thomas, formerly Lord Birdolf, with a like proviso touching the forfeiture of their own lands; Nevertheless it was not the intention of the said Acts that the said Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, and Lord Bardolf should forfeit any lands given to them or their ancestors in fee tail; and as the said Acts are doubtful and obscure in this respect, it is now enacted that the said forfeitures shall not extend to lands of the said persons held in fee tail, but only to those held in fee simple by inheritance or purchase, or to their use, and that their heirs shall not be barred from claiming such lands held in fee tail.—*Extract from the Roll of Parliament* 18 Henry VI.

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XXXIV.

PRUDHOE CASTLE.¹

(P. 246.)

Memorandum that J. Bishop of Bath and Wells the King's Chancellor came before the King and delivered here in Court a certain Record "had" before the King in his Chancery in these words:—

Pleas before the King in his Chancery at Westminster in the octaves of the Purification of the B. V. Mary 15 Henry VI.

It is found by a certain Inquisition taken at the King's Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne, on Tuesday in the fourth week of Lent in the 14th year of the present King, before Thomas Fulthorp and others by virtue of the King's commission and

¹ See *ante*, Appendix XVII.A.

returned into Chancery that John de Haweburgh, parson of the Church of Iwardeby, and others, by their deed dated at Prudhowe, on Thursday after the Assumption of B. Mary, 49 Edward III., gave to Gilbert de Umfravyll, Earl of Angos, and Matilda his wife, the Castle of Prudhowe and the Manor of Ovynggham in co. Northumberland, which they had of the gift of the said Earl: to hold to the said Earl and Matilda and the heirs of the Earl's body, so that if the said Earl should die without heir of his body the said Castle and Manor should remain to Henry Lord Percy (late Earl of Northumberland) and the heirs male of his body: by the King's licence dated 5 July, 49 Edward III. Afterwards the said Earl of Angos died without heir of his body begotten, and the said Matilda died subsequently; after whose death the said late Earl of Northumberland entered into the said Castle and Manor as into his remainder, and was seized thereof in his demesne as of fee and right by the form of the said gift in the time of King Richard II. and he took the profits thereof &c. From the said Earl Henry the right descended to Henry his son and heir, and from him to Henry, now Earl of Northumberland as son and heir.

Whereupon the present Earl comes into Chancery and demands the said Castle and Manor to be delivered to him.

John Vampage, who sues for the King, alleges that divers charters, writings &c. concerning the premises are in the Treasury &c. A writ was accordingly issued to the Treasurer and Chamberlains, who returned that they could find no such evidences.

The King's attorney then alleged that the said Henry Percy, late Earl of Northumberland, was seized in demesne as of fee of the said Castle and Manor, on the 6th May 6 Henry IV. at the time when he forfeited to that King; and he denied the alleged settlement by John de Haweburgh and others &c.

The present Earl alleges that the late Earl was not seized in fee simple, but in fee tail, at the time when he forfeited to Hen. IV. Issue was joined, and referred to a jury.

Several adjournments took place and at length the case was tried before the Justices for Assizes at Newcastle upon Tyne in 19 Henry VI., when the King's Attorney did not appear. The Jury found that John de Haweburgh and others made the settlement described above.

Accordingly Judgment was given that the King's hands should be removed from the said Castle and Manor and that the same should be delivered to the present Earl as his right and inheritance; to hold to him and the heirs of his body issuing according to the form of the said gift.

Queen's Bench, Coram Rege Roll, Easter term, 15 Hen. VI. Crown side, roll 9.

APPENDIX.

XXXV.

CASTLE AND MANSION HOUSES BELONGING TO THE PERCIES¹ FROM THE CONQUEST DOWN TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

(P. 248.)

		Acquired <i>circ.</i> A.D.	CHAP. V.
Topcliffe or Topclive	Yorkshire	} 1069	
Spofford or Spofforth	Ditto		
Tadcaster	Ditto		
Petworth	Sussex	1150	
*Dunsley	York	1200	
*Sutton-upon-Derwent	Ditto	} 1240	
Lekinfield	Ditto		
*Mitford	Northumberland	} 1310	
Alnwick	Ditto		
Warkworth	Ditto		
Newburn	Ditto		
*Kirk Levington	Yorkshire	} 1370	
*Dalton Percy	Durham		
*Whalram Percy	Yorkshire		
*Dronfield	Derbyshire	1377	
*Emelins	Wales	} 1380	
Wressil	Yorkshire		
Cockermouth	Cumberland	} 1385	
Egremont	Ditto		
Prudhoe	Northumberland	} 1392	
Langley	Ditto		
*The Castle	Isle of Man	} 1399	
*Beaumaris	Wales		
Northumberland House	The Close, Newcastle	} Dates uncertain.	
Percy's Inn	York		
Earl's Inn	Newcastle		
*Percy House	Bishopsgate, London		
*Northumberland House	Aldgate, London		
A Mansion	In Beverley	}	
A Mansion	In Durham		

¹ The places marked with an asterisk did not come into possession of the second Earl of Northumberland, having either fallen to younger branches of the family or lapsed to the Crown.

The several castles in Scotland granted to the Percies at different times are not included in this list.

APPENDIX.

XXXV A.

UNSETTLED CONDITION OF THE BORDER IN 1435.

(P. 258.)

CHAP. V.
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The following abstract from a portion of the graphic account left by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Secretary to the Cardinal Santa Croce, who was sent on a mission to Scotland in 1435, helps us to realise the barbarous and unsettled condition in which the border then was.

“The Nuncio had suffered so much by sea that rather than attempt another voyage, he resolved to face the risk of a journey through England. Disguising himself as a merchant, he was ferried across a river [apparently the Solway] which, rising in a high hill, divides the two realms; and resting about sunset at what he calls a big town, found lodging in a peasant's house, where he supped with his host and the parish priest. There was plenty of broth, fowls, and geese, but neither wine nor bread. All the people of the place, both men and women, came flocking to the spot, staring in amazement at Æneas, as Italians would stare at an Ethiopian or an Indian. ‘Where does he come from?’ they asked the priest; ‘what is he doing here? Is he a Christian?’ Forewarned that he must look for hard fare upon his journey, Æneas had provided himself at a certain monastery with some loaves of bread and some red wine. The sight of these astonished the English barbarians more than ever—they had never seen either wine or white bread. . . . The supper lasted until the second hour of the night, when the priest, the host and his children, with all the men, took their leave, saying that they must be gone to a certain tower a long way off, for fear of the Scots, who were wont, when it was dark and ebb tide, to come over the river and plunder. It was in vain that the Italian entreated to be taken with them. Nor did they take any of their women. . . . Æneas, therefore, with two servants and a guide or interpreter, remained alone among a hundred women, who, ranging themselves in a circle round the fire, spent the hours in carding hemp and talking with his guide. The night was far passed, when there was a loud noise of dogs barking and geese cackling. The women fled, some one way, some another; the guide fled with them; and there was as great a tumult as if the enemy had come. Æneas thought it best to lie still in his bedroom—it was a stable—lest, if he attempted flight in a place of which he knew nothing, he might only run into danger, and be robbed by the first man he met. He had not long to wait before the women came back with the guide: the alarm had been raised by the arrival of friends, not of foes.

With daylight the Nuncio resumed his journey. When he reached Newcastle, said to be a work of the Cæsars, it seemed as if he had returned to the habitable world, so unlike Italy, so rugged, wild, and dreary did Scotland and the north of England appear to his eyes.”¹

XXXVI.

FOUNDATION OF FELLOWSHIPS AT OXFORD.

(P. 261.)

“Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Lord of the Honour of Cockermouth, did at the request of the Universitie (after this College had suffered so great impoverishment that the Chief Revenues were allotted by the Chancellor of the Universitie to pay its debts and repaire the houses belonging thereunto) give them three acres of land in, and the Advowson of, the Rectory of Arnecliffe in Craven in the Countie of York; (21st Henry VI.) to the end that they the said fellows should alwaies have in and choose into their College three Bachelors, or Masters, of Art of the Boroughs of *Durham*, *Carlisle*, and *Yorke*, to make proficiencie in Divinitie among them, and be accounted as Fellows and enjoy all privileges as they doo.

“About the same time the College entertained thought of having the said Rectorie appropriated, that thereby the gift might be improved to the said College, and its ruinated houses might be enriched and repaired. The said thought of theirs being imparted to the Universitie and approved, the members thereof wrote two Epistles the same yeare, that is to say: one to the Archbishop, John Kempe, and another to the Dean and Chapter of Yorke, that they would give leave for its appropriation, which being by them granted, was the same yeare brought to pass according to their desires and a reserve of twenty marks per annum issuing thence to be paid to the Vicar that should serve them.

“This great Earl died in, or just after, the Battle of St. Alban’s on the eleventh of the Cal. of June² 1455, and had afterwards a mass called *Salus Populi* celebrated yearlie in the Chappell by the fellowes and Scholars, for the health of him and his Countess, and for his children, on the feast of Corpus Christi (as also for Maud, the wife of his son Henry) as the obligation of the

¹ *Concilia Scotiae*, Bannatyne Club Publications, Edin., 1866. Vol. i, preface, page xevi.

² An error, the first battle of St. Alban’s was fought on 22nd May.

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"There was also a mass performed for them on the feast of the Holy Trinitie as in the old Calender is manifest."—From A. Wood's MS. *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii. page 172.

XXXVII.

LANDS IN POSSESSION OF HENRY PERCY, 2ND EARL OF
NORTHUMBERLAND, AT THE DATE OF HIS DEATH.

(P. 268.)

It was found by inquisition, that this Earl of Northumberland was, at the time of his death, seized of the castle and lordship of Alnwiike, with its appurtenances, viz. the borough of Alnwiike and Alnmouth, with the towns of Alnwiike, Lesbury, Houghton, Chatton, Alnham, &c. in com. Northumbr.; as also of the castle and manor of Prudhow, and Birkley, with their members; of the castle of Werkworth, and manors of Werkworth, Corbrigge, and Newburne in the same county. Likewise of a certain house, called Percy's Inn, situate in the parish of St. Dionis, within the city of York: And of the manors of Topcliffe and Spofford, with the advowson of the church of Donnington; of the manors of Lethlay, Shothorpe, Gigleswiike, Langstrother, Tadcaster, Catton, with the advowson of the church, Pocklington, Nafferton, Hunandby, Semar, and Kirk-Levington, in com. Ebor: Of the manors of Dagenham, and Cokeral, in com. Essex: Of the manors of Swaby, Brinkell, Laughton, Saucethorp, Haghe, Ulseby, Fulnetby, Horsington, Herningby, Oxcumbe, Farforth, Witherne, Gayton, Haveringham, Lasseby, Claythorp, Malberthorp, Fedelthorp, Trustthorp, Sutton, Hotost, Anderby, Asserby, Louthford, Cobbenham, Thorp juxta Louthe, Imingham, Wickesby, Toft, Neuton, Snellestand, Reresby, Dykering, Carleton, Preston, Legburne, Welton juxta Thwayte, Urby, Athenby, Hotby, Hamore, Lowboworsby, Saxelby, Somerby, Thornton, Kathorpe, Staineton, Thorpe juxta Lathford, Garnethorpe, Louthney, Horkelaw, Riggesby, Willingham, West-Langby, Fanthorpe, Kenermond, Covenham, and Worldby, in com. Linc. Of the manor of Foston, in com. Leicester: Of the castle and honour of Cockermouth, the manors of Papcastre, Aspatrike, Wighton, Brathwait, Cameswater, Dene, Caldbeck, Ulmedale, and moiety of the manor of Kirkbrigge; the advowsons of the churches of Dene, and Kirkbrigge, Ulmdale, and chapel of St. Leonard at Wighton, in com. Cumb. Likewise of the fourth part of the barony of

APPENDIX.

Egremond, with its appurtenances, in the same county; the advowson of the church of Wadwinch; with certain lands in Westward and Allerdale, parcel of the manor of Wighton, in the same county.—From *Calend. Inquis. post mort.* 33 Henry VI.

Petworth and other lands in Sussex, and the Percy estates in Suffolk and Kent form the subject of separate Inquisitions.

CHAP. VI.

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XXXVII A.

WARRANT OF HENRY PERCY, SON OF THE 2ND EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(P. 270.)

Henricus Percy, Miles, primogenitus Henrici Comitis Northumbrie, Gardianus Estmarchie Anglie versus Scociam, dilecto et fideli Armigero nostro Cristofero Spencer, salutem. Et quia nobis certificatum est et relatum quod quedam multitudo Scottorum in diversis locis infra metas Gardenrie nostre Estmarchie Anglie versus Scociam valde sunt supportati et sustentati absque licencia legitima quacunque in magnum prejudicium atque dampnum domino nostro Regi et populo suo. Ideo ex parte domini nostri Regis qua fungimur in hac parte tibi committimus potestatem ut omnes Scottos sive Scottas, quos vel quas infra nostram Gardenriam predictam inveneris, per corpora eorum ac bona et catalla sua capias et arrestes, et eos sive eas prisonarios deteneas, quosque finem ac redempcionem secundum legis institutionem et consuetudinem Marchie predictae fecerint. Et insuper tibi precipimus et mandamus ut omnes supportantes et auxiliantes dictos Scottos sive Scottas attachias sive attachiari facias per corpora eorum, quousque sufficientem securitatem invenerint ad respondendum coram nobis seu commissariis nostris in curia nostra Gardenrie predictae de transgressione facta contra proclamacionem et ordinacionem factas pro salva custodia Marchie predictae. Et hoc quamdiu nobis placuerit tantum modo duraturum. Datum sub sigillo Gardianitatis nostre predictae ad causas, vicesimo secundo die Mensis Julii. Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Anglie vicesimo quarto.

22 July
1446

Scaled on a pendent tag of parchment with a seal of red wax, bearing the fetterlock within a crescent inscribed: Sigill. Henrici Percy Milit[is Gardiani] Est Marchie Ang[lie] versus Scociam ad causas.

The letters within brackets are lost, the seal being slightly injured.

APPENDIX.

XXXVIII.

THE POYNINGS LANDS ACQUIRED BY THE THIRD EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(P. 270.)

CHAP. VI.

— SCIANT, &c. Quod nos Johannes Leukenore Armiger Bartholomeus Bolree Johannes Gruele et Thomas Gynour dimisimus tradidimus et hac presenti carta nostra quadripartita indentata confirmavimus Thome Vrsewyk Edwardo Barkeley Armigero Radulpho Verney Ricardo Nedeham Ricardo Pygot Guidoni Fairfax Roberto Rodes Thome Rygby Johanni Werk clerico Roberto Dawtree et Johanni Stodeley Maneria nostra de Ponynges Hamelton Wyke Sond Perching Magna Perchyng parva Slaugham Pengeden Preston Ponynges Waldern Heruntandey et Ashcomb SUSSEX. Maner Stokecursy Spekynton Briggehampton Wyke Chaddon Staple Cary Fitz-Payn Radeway Charleton et Lude SOMERSET. Dureston Okeford-Fitz Payne DORSET. Trellingham Estwell Newenton Bertram Hertle Horsmondon Westwod Loveland Rokesley et North Cray in Comitatu KANCIE Okewold in NORFOLK Wrentham in Comitatu SUFFOLK Necnon omnia alia maneria terras &c. nuper Roberti Domini de Ponynges militis ac Ricardi Ponynges militis et Alianore vxoris ejus defunctorum in Comitatibus SUSSEX SOMERSET DORSET KANCIE NORFOLK et SUFFOLK quæ nos conjunctim cum Johanne Michelgrove jam defuncto et cum Thome Hooare adhuc superstite qui relaxavit jus Thome Michelgrove per scriptum suum datum primo die Julij anno 36 H. 6 ex dono Henrici Percy tunc Comitis Northumbrie Domini Honoris de Cokermouth ac Domini de Ponynges dat(o) decimo Septembris anno 36 H. 6 &c. Habendum &c. eisdem Thome Edwardo &c. Tenendum de capitalibus Dominis feodi &c. Per servitia &c. In cujus rei testimonium &c. Datum quarto decimo die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti &c. tertio.

Ex autographo penes me Petrum Le Neve
Norroy inter cartas diversorum comitatum.

Sealed by Lewknore Bolree Gruele and Gynour, the scales without arms except Bolrees, which is so defaced not to be discerned.—From the *Record Office*.

APPENDIX.

XXXIX.

THE AWARD MADE AT WESTMINSTER ON THE THREE AND TWENTIETH OF MARCH, ANNO REGNI REGIS, 36.

(P. 274.)

First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwick and Salisburie, fourtie and five pounds of yearelie rent should be assured by waie of a mortise-ment for ever, unto the monasterie of S. Albans, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be emploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerset, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford, late slaine in the battell of Saint Albans, and buried in the Abbeie Church, and also for the soules of all other slaine in the same battell. The said duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by virtue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the daie of their deaths, as well as the said duke of Yorke, the earls of Warwick and Salisburie¹

. . . . Also where Thomas Persie, knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Persie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Elenor countess of Northumberland, had been in a Sessions holden within the countie of Yorke before Richard Bingham, and Rafe Pole, the kings justices and other commissioners, condemned unto the earle of Salisburie in the summe of eight thousand marks; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of five thousand marks; and to Thomas Neuill knight, son to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of a thousand marks; and to the said Thomas and Maud his wife, in the summe of two thousand marks; and to John Nevill knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of eight hundred marks: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be doone by the said lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, unto the said earle of Salisburie, Alice, Thomas Neuill, Maud and John Neuill, as by the record appeered.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release unto Rafe Verneie and John Steward, late Sheriffes of London, unto whose custodie the said lord Egremond had beene for the same condemnations committed, and

CHAP. VI.
[Ano. Dom.
1458.]

¹ Here follows a clause relating to compensation to the Duke of Somerset and John, Lord Clifford, for the death of their fathers.

from them escaped, all actions which they or anie of them might have against the said Verneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was decreed by this award, that the said lord Egremond should be bound by recognisance in the Chancerie, to keep the peace toward the said earle and his wife, children, servants, and tenants.

Also where diverse knights, esquiers, and other servants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremond, were by their severall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, unto the said duke of Yorke, earle of Salisburie, or any of their children, to stand to their order and government; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be delivered to them that so stood bound, before the feast of Saint Peter ad vincula next ensuing at the citie of York, or else that the parties so bound should have sufficient acquitances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controversies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had beene betwixt any of the said persons, or any of their servants, or tenants, should be for ever determined and ended, sauing to euerie one his title, action, or right, which he had by any evidence of arrerages of rents or services, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of anie lawfull contract or deed, had and made for anie reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all maner of actions, that were meere personals and appeales, which anie of them might have against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was decreed, that if any action, sute, or quarell chanced betwixt any of the servants or tenants of anie of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or mooved before this time, that from henceforth none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and mooue strife and debate: but should rather so deale as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained, pretended, or surmised that this award was not kept, but in some point broken by anie of the parties, for the which breach he would have a *scire facias*, or some other action prosecuted in the king's name upon any recognisance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet should not the same *scire facias* or action be prosecuted, till the kings counsell might be throughe certified of the matter by the complainant, and upon consideration see just cause whie the same *scire facias*, or action, ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance rose betwixt the counsell of both parties in making of the reconisances, releases, acquittances, or other writings, the same variance should be determined by the two lords cheefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the king's intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same award, that the parties being severallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeie and performe this award, ordinance and iudgment made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein contained to be pardoned in anie wise, without the agreement and consent of the partie for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if anie of the said summes, or any parcel thereof should be recovered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, upon anie of the said recognisances, the partie to whose hinderance the award was broken, should have the one halfe of the monie so recovered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasurer of the king's house. ¶ This ordinance, award, and agreement, was given up under the kings great seale, at the kings palace of Westminster, the foure and twentieth daie of March in the six and thirtieth yeare of his reigne.¹

XL.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF THE THIRD EARL OF
NORTHUMBERLAND.

(P. 283.)

Will of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland Lord of the Honor of Cokirmouth and Lord of Ponynge, stating that he has this day given all his lands and tenements to Master Richard Andrew, Dean of York, William Abbot, of Alnewik, Ralph Gray, Knight, and others, in trust that they shall receive the profits thereof for six years for payment of his debts, and then for four years more, the profits whereof are to be expended about his sepulture in the Chapel of St. Ninian in the Cathedral Church of York, in the same manner as his ancestors who were buried there, and about the foundation of three perpetual chantries in the same chapel; then for two years longer they are to receive the profits and dispose of the same for the marriages

¹ Holinshed, iii. 248.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. VII. — of Eleanor, Margaret, and Elizabeth, his daughters ;¹ after which they are to enfeof his son Henry Percy of the said lands and tenements, which, if he die, are to remain to the Earl's right heirs.²

XLI.

HENRY PERCY'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE. A.D. 1469.

(P. 289.)

"De fidelitate Henrici Percy capta.

"Memorandum quod, Vicesimo septimo Die Octobris, Anno regni regis Edwardi quarti, nono, Henricus Percy, filius Henrici Percy, nuper Comitis Northumbriæ, coram præfato Domino rege infra Palatium suum Westmonasteriense personaliter constitutus, Sacraumentum præstitit corporale in forma sequenti

"I, Sovereigne Lorde, Henry Percy, become your subgette and liegeman, and promyt to God and youe that hereafter I Feyth and Trouth shall bere to you, as to my Sovereigne Liege Lorde, and to youre Heyres, Kynges of Englande, of Lyfe and Lymme and of erthely worshippe for to lyve and dye agenst all erthely people.

"And to youe and to youre commandementes I shall be obeisaunt, as God me helpe, and His Hole Evangelistes.

"Præsentibus: (Here follow the signatures of the lords, commencing with the Duke of Gloucester.)

"Et super hoc præfatus Dominus Rex adtunc et ibidem oretemus in præsentia supradictorum Dominorum, exoneravit dictum Dominum Duddeley, Constabularium Turris Regis Londoniæ, de ulteriori custodia Corporis supradicti Henrici Percy."³

XLII.

RESTORATION OF THE FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND

(P. 289.)

Henrie Percie, Knight, son and heir to Henry Percie, late Lord of Northumberland, is restored in bloud to the said Earldome, and to all such hereditaments of the same Earl

¹ His widow Eleanor survived him for many years, and in 9 Edward IV. was restored to the large dower settled upon her of her marriage, but which had been forfeited by the earl's attainder in 1461. She died in 1483, seized of thirty manors in Dorset, Somerset, Surrey, and Sussex.—*Cal. Inquis. post mort.* 1st Richard III.

² From Syon House MS. H. i. No. 1.

³ *Fiedera* xi. 649.

APPENDIX.

as came to the kings hands, the second day of March, in Ann 9, Edward IV., and the attainder made against the said Earl, Ann 1, Edw. IV. is made void.¹

CHAP. VII.
—

XLIII.

INDENTURE BETWEEN THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND RICHARD DUKE OF GLOSTER.

(P. 292.)

This endenture made the xxviiijth daie of July in the xiiijth yere of the Reigne of or. souaine Lorde King Edward the fourthe bitwix the Right High and migh... Prince Richard Duc of Gloucestre on the oon ptye and th. Right Worshipfull Lorde Henr. Erle of Nor.humbr. on the other party. Witnesseth that the said Erle by thies prsents pmitts and gr'nts vnto the said Duc to be his faithfull sr'nt, the said Duc being his good and faithfull Lorde. And the said Erle to do suice vnto the said Duc at all tymes lawfull and venient, whan he therunto by the said Duc shal be lawfully requyred, the duetic of the alegeunce of the said Erle to the Kings Highnes. the Quene, his suice and pmise to Prince Edward, thair first begoten son, and all the King's issue begoten and to be begoten first at all tymes resued and hadd. For the which suice the said Duc pmitts and gr'nts vnto the said Erle, to be his good and faithfull Lorde, at all tymes. And to sustene hym in his Right afore all psonnes except to fore except. Also the said Duc pmitts and gr'nts to the said Erle that he shal not aske challenge nor clayme any office or offices or Feethat the said Erle hath of the King's gr'nt or any other psonne or psonnes at the making of thies pnts nor intrupt the said Erle nor any of his sunts in executing or doing of any the said Office or Offices by hym or any of his suntz in tyme to come. And also the said Duc shal not accept nor reteigne into his suice any sunt or suntz that was or any tyme seth hath ben with the said Erle reteigned of Fee clothing, or pmise according to th appoyntment taken betwix the said Duc and Erle by the Kings Highness and the Lords of his Counseil at Nottynghm the xijth daie of May in the xijth yere of the Reigne of the said souain Lorde except John Wedryngton. In witnes wherof the said Duc and the said Erle to thies endenturs entrechungably have sett thair sealis the daye and yere abouesaid.

J. NEWTON.²

¹ From Cotton's *Abridged Acts of Parliament*, 12 Edward IV. (6 October, 1473).

² Transcribed from the original counterpart of the Indenture preserved in the Muniment Room, Syon House, Y. ii. 28.

APPENDIX.

XLIV.

FUNERAL OF THE FOURTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(P. 307.)

CHAP. VII.

A short draught of the Charge of the Buriall of our Lord and Maister (Henry Percy) Earl of Northumberland (who died 28 Apr. 1489), whose Soule Jesu pardon.

[From a MS. Sheet (once Peter Le Neve's, Esq.), now in the hands of the Publisher, &c., Fra. Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. 7, No. 6.]

	£	s.	d.
First, for the Balmyng, Fencyng, and Scowering of the Corse, with the Webbe of Led and Chest . . .	13	06	08
Item, for the Wax of the Herse, by estimation . . .	26	13	04
Item, for the Tymber and Paynting of the Herse . . .	5	00	00
Item, for 400 Torches, after 2s. 8d. the peece . . .	53	06	08
Item, for a Standart	4	00	00
Item, for a Baner	3	06	08
Item, for his Cote Armer of Seynet, betyn with his Armyes	5	00	00
Item, for 12 Baners of Sarcenet, betyn with my lord's Armyes, at 10s. the peece	6	00	00
Item, for 100 Pensells of Sarcenet, at 12d. the peece.	5	00	00
Item, for 60 Scutchions of Bukeram betyn with my Lord's Armyes (hole Armyes), at 12d. the peece, for the Chaire, Herse, and Church	3	00	00
Item, to 40 poor Men, for the bering of Torches on Horseback, one day (from Wresill to Leginfield), 18 Myles, at 2s. a Man	4	00	00
Item, for 100 Men on foote, at 6d. a Man a day; viz. from Leginfield to Beverley, 1 Day; and at Beverley the Day of the Burial, 1 Day	5	00	00
Item, for the Suffrages of 6 Churches that will met the Corse by the way, after 13s. 4d. the Church (besids the Torches)	4	00	00
Item, for the Reward to two Officers of Armyes, for their Helpe and Payne in orduring the said Buriall, at £10 the peece for coming from London, ther costs and Reward	20	00	00
Item, for al maner of Dues belonging to the Church where the Corse shall rest	20	00	00
Item, for 12 Gownes, for Lords (after 3 yerds of dimid in a Gowne, at 10s. the yerd)	21	00	00
Carried forward	£198	13	04

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Brought forward	£198 13 04	CHAP. VII.
Item, for 20 Gownes for Gentlewomen (after 3 yerds in a Gowne, at 5s. the yerd)	15 00 00	
Item, for 24 Gownes withe Hods, for Lordes and Knyghts (at 10s. the yerd, and after 5 yerds in every Gowne and Hode) with the Executors	60 00 00	
Item, for 60 Gownes with Typets for Squyers and Gentlemen (at 6s. 8d. the yerd, and after 4 yerds in every Gowne and Typett)	80 00 00	
Item, for 200 Gownes for Yeomen and Hood for . . . (after 3s. 4d. the yerd, and after 3 yerds in every Gowne)	120 00 00	
Item, for 160 Gownes of course Black, for Poor Folke, for Torch-bearers and outhur (after 3 yards in a Gowne, and after 2s. the yerd)	42 00 00	
Item, for 400 yards of course Black, for hanginge the Church and the Chapells (at 2s. the yerd)	40 00 00	
Item, for 500 Priests that will come to the said Buriall, and if they do not, the outhur must be fulfilled the next day; after 12d. the peece, according to the Will	25 00 00	
Item, for 1,000 Clerks that comyth to the said Buriall, after 4d. the peece	16 13 04	
Item, for 100 Gownes for Gromes and Gentlemen's Servants (after 3s. 4d. the yerd, and after 3 yerds in every Gowne)	50 00 00	
Item, for the Dole at the said Buriall, after 2d. to every pore Body that comyth the Day of the Burial [allowing the number of the said poor folks to be, as I presume they were on the said Day of Buriall] 13340, after 2d. the peece, according to the Will. 123 06 08	123 06 08	
Item, for the Costs and Expenses of Meate and Drinke, and Horse Meate, going and comyng to the said Buriall (viz. one Day from Wresil to Lekinfeld, by the space of 18 myles; and one Day from Lekinfeld to Beverley; and one Day tarrying at Beverley, for the Buriall; and one Day returning from Beverley to Wresil, 18 myles	266 13 04	
Item, for the Mortuaries, his Armys, his Huishe-men, his Maister of the Horse, and all such outhur things to be had of my Lord's owen store in the House		

£1040 0 8

* From Alnwick MSS. The amount of the last item is not specified, nor does this account include the cost of the magnificent monument subsequently erected to the Earl's memory in Beverley Minster.

APPENDIX.

XLV.

ARMY UNDER THE FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OCTOBER, 1523.

(P. 354.)

CHAP. VIII.

The B[ook]
retynewe

[The title and first page are mutilated. There are 17 pages of names of persons, in double columns. P. 18 gives a summary of the whole, as follows.]

The hole nombre of Therle of Northumbreland's
company at this tyme comyn to Alnewik
with his lordshipe the xxvijth day of
Octobre Anno xvo. reg. Henrici viij is . . . DCCCLxxvj
Wherof

My lorde graunt captayn j
My lordis hede captayns viij
My lord pety capteyns viij
My lord pursyunt Esperance j
My lord chaplayns ij
My lord Surgions ij
My lordis hole retynew on and besids is . . DCCCLiiij

{Signed} HERRY NORTHUBERLAND.

From *Exchequer Rolls, Queen's Remembrancer, Miscellanea Army*, i A. 31.

XLVI.

(P. 355.)

REWARD TO THE FORCES UNDER LORD OGLE AND SIR WILLIAM PERCY, 1522.

Reward given unto divers men of Northumberland by the
handes of My Lorde Lieutenant for the casting down of

APPENDIX.

Blackatur and other fortresses in Scotland as it appearith by a Bill signed by the said Lorde. CHAP. VIII.

	£	s.	d.
For the Soldiers of Berwick	6	13	4
Lord Ogill	13	6	8
Sir William Heron	10	0	0
Sir Edward Graye	10	0	0
Sir William Percy	13	6	8
Sir Phil. Dacre	5	0	0
Sir Ralph à Fenwick	10	0	0
Sir William Lysle	5	0	0
Sir Roger Guast	4	0	0
Robert a Collingwood	4	0	0
To the Gunners	5	0	0
To Claverynge		53	4
Sir John Delavale		53	4
John Swinburne		40	/
John Heron of Chipcase	£4	0	0
Sir William Hilton	10	0	0
Sir William Ellerhee	5	0	0
Cuthbert Racliffe	4	0	0
Sir Nicholas Ridley		40	/
Certain Guards		40	/
Total	£122	13	4

From Cotton MSS. *Caligula*, B. 1, 125.

XLVI. A.

"THE FALCON."¹

(P. 363.)

"There came a falcon fair of flight,
 And let her down present in sight;
 A Bird so gentle, fair, and bright,
 Seemed worthy of good fortune.
 Then came a lion full lovingly,
 That all the small birds it might see,
 Singing: 'Fair Falcon, come to me,
 Here is your good fortune.'
 The knot of love in him was fast
 And so far entred into his breast,
 That her he chose of all birds the best,
 Such was her good fortune.

CHAP. IX.

¹ From the Appendix to Nott's *Life of Sir Thomas Wyatt*.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. IX.

At last came a storm and a sudden thrall
That her plumage was ruffled and rent withal;
It was then too late to cry or call
For help or good fortune!

* * *

I had a lover steadfast and true;
Alas! that ever I changed for new!
I could not remember; full sore I rue,
To have now this fortune!"

XLVII.

THE LORD WARDEN'S PAID DEPUTIES AND GENTLEMEN.

(P. 386.)

The Namys of the Counsaile in Householde with Therle of Northumberland, and other which thereat receive fees.¹

The Counsaile in Household with the Warden:

The Chancellor of Durlham . . .	40 li.
Mr. Tempest	40 marks
Mr. Bowes	20 li.

£86 13 4

The Lieutenant and Deputies of the East March:

Thomas Percy, Lieutenant . . . £20

Deputies:

Sir William Hearon, 20 mks., Sir
Roger Grey and Roger
Lassels, each £10

£57 6 8

The Middle March:

Lieutenant, Sir Willm. Evers with
the rule of Riddesdale . . .

£66 13 4

Deputies Robert Collingwode, John
Horsley, John Hearon, £10
each.

Sir Raulff Fenwick with the rule
of Tynedale

£45

Edward Charlton of Hesilside,
Willm. Charlton of the Hall

£147 0 0

¹ Cotton MSS. Caligula, B. III. 65.

APPENDIX.

Gentlemen of Northumberland in fee with the Warden:

CHAP. IX.

<i>Knights:</i> Lord Ogle	£13 6 8	
Sir Edward Grey	100s.	
Sir John Delavale	£6 13 4	
Sir William Ogle	100s.	
Sir Wm. Ellercer	100s.	
Sir John Heron of Chipease	100s.	
	<hr/>	£40 0 0
<i>Esquires:</i> John Wydrington	£6 13 4	
Lenard Musgrove	6 13 4	
Cuthbert Radcliffe	100s.	
John Fenwick of Wallington	£5 0 0	
Nicolas Thornton	4 0 0	
Wm. Swinborne of Carptheline	66s. 8d.	
Roger Swinburne	52s. 4d.	
John Clavering	53s. 4d.	
Wm. Carneby	53s. 4d.	
Gylbert Errington	53s. 4d.	
Thos. Errington	53s. 4d.	
Hugh Ridley	66s. 8d.	
Chrystr. Mythforde	66s. 8d.	
	<hr/>	£50 13 4

Gentlemen: Roger Hearon of Meldon, George Urd, Robert Rames, Mathew Whitfeld, Cuthbert Ogle of Chepyngton, John Ogle of Ogle Castle, George Fenwick of Fenwick 53s. 4d. each.
 George Tompyn, Ric. Ruderforde, Robt. Thyrlwall, Oswald Mytforde, Gawyne Mytforde, Thomas and Robert Lawson, Roger Horseley, Percyvall Selbey, William Alder of Prendwick, John Rowdeman, John Clannell, William Hearing, John Harbottel of Preston, Thomas Hebborne, Raiffe Ilderton, George Muschaunce, Roger Muschaunce, Richd. Strudder, Thomas Holburne, Thomas Cramlyngton, Willm. Heron of Crawley, Edwd. Galton, John Hall of Otterburne . . 40s. each.

£66 13 4

APPENDIX.

CHAP. IX. *Norhamshire.*

John Care of Flitton	40s.	
Cuthbert Muschaunce	53s. 4d.	
Willm. Selbey of Brangyston, Robert and John Selbey, Robert Manners, Henry Swynowe, John Hagerstone, Gilbert Swynborne of Cornell, John Burrell of Hettell, Ed- ward Muschaunce, John Blen- kinsoppe, Robert Thirwalle, John Ridley of Corseley, Coutbert Shaftowe, Miles Crewe, William Wallys, Tho- mas Errington	40s. each	
Thomas Scott	20s.	
	—	£37 0 0
Total Summe		£486 0 0

XLVIII.

DEMAND FOR INSTRUCTIONS.¹

(P. 386.)

Articles to knowe the kings ande my Lord Grace pleasure in concynynge the orderynge of Northumbreland.

Furst to knowe the Kings pleasour and my lords grace anenst the outlaws of Englande beyng in Scotland howe they shalbe ordered if they com in ande submyt theym to the warden to abyde the Kings pleaso^r.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleasour and my lords grace if the outlaws doo comytt felonyes robberys and murders in Northumbreland, ande fle in to Scotland, ande can not be taken in England grounde; whedir the warden shall invaide the Realme of Scotlande for takynge of theym or not, Ande after what maner it shalbe doone and orderid ande of whose charge.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleaso^r and my lords grace howe the warden shall ordre hym concynynge Tyndaill ande Ryddisdale with suche psons that hath stolne and robbid affore the comynge of the warden Ande yf they will not submytt theymselves howe than they shalbe ordered. And yf they wol submytt theymselves vppon pldgs, howe they and their pldgs shall than be ordered and of whose charge.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleasour ande my lords grace as

¹ An abstract of the original document in the Record Office will be found in the *Letters and Papers, For. and Dom.* Henry VIII. vol. iv. No. 3629.

touchyng thorderyng of gentlemen of Northumbreland ande other poore men, that hath bene steelers ande resettors of theft ande murdre affere the comyng of the warden into the countrey whedir the warden shall procede to punysshement of theym for offence doon affore hys comyng, ande in what maner he shall vse hymself therein towards suche offenders.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleasour ande my lords grace, howe the warden shall ordre all suche matiers that ar in traverers in the countrey betwixt ptie and partite.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleasour ande my lords grace, howe the warden shalbe paide hys thousand pounds by yere for the wardenship, and by whose hands.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleasour ande my lords grace, concernyng John Norton, Robt Bowes, ande other whiche shulde be of counsaill with the saide warden.

Itm to knowe my lords grace pleaso^r concernyng hys castelle of Norhm that the warden may haue it accordyng as Sir Cristofer Dacre had.

Itm to knowe the Kings pleaso^r ande my lords grace, concernyng the sherifship of Northumbreland, whiche ys necessary for the warden to have.

* * *

REPLY TO QUERIES.

Furste tharticles of the Instrucons ar clerely to be folowed and executed by the advice of counsaill.

The pclamacons wolde be made furthw^t in places moost necessary.

Sir Willm Evres late vicewarden and levetennte of the myddle mches, and officer booth of Tyndaill and Riddesdaill had in Fee for the roome of vicewarden xxxiiij ti. For the roome of Levetennte lxxvj to xlijs liij t. For Tyndaill xl. ti. and for Riddesdaill xl. mks, and beside these Roomes he was Shereiff of Northumblande and w^t all thies Fees he couth not nor mought rule the said myddle mches, and soe confessed by his writing, wherfor it is to be considered whether he be mete for thoos borde's or not, and whether he woll sue for a lesse Fee thenne he had afor.

Sir Rauf Fenwik was long officer of Tyndaill, and had yerely xl. ti Fee for the same, and couth not rule that contrey, but rather was ordoed by the theves, and had the worse of thaym at all tymes. Howe now he shulde rule well ther having a lesse Fee I knowe not.

Suche men as haue not doon well, wolde be refused, and suche other as haue doon well, and not corrupte wolde be chosen, or elle suche other as ar likely to favour justice, and as woll represe

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theſte, and as woll not patesse betwene true men and theves with making myche detestable and foule redresse, whiche by the mayntennce and conseilment geven by the officers to the said theves, haith bene the destruccion of Northumbland.

Fynally good rule shall never be ther, till the contreys of Tyndaill and Riddesdaill may be kept vnder such obeisaunce that if any the inhabitants of the same be suspecte, aither of burnyng, murdo's heryinggs or any other robberes, that thenne furthwith thay be brought ynnne to answer vnto the kinggs lawes, like as ar other the Kinggs subjects w'oute making any vntrue excuses, amendes or redresse, clooking or colo'ing to the contrary any oolde customers or pretended privilege or fraunchesys notwithstanding, whiche is better to be neglected thenne the comyn weall of soe grete contréis shulde be subdued repressed and putte to vtter ruynne and destruccion.

It shalbe well doon that noe grete enterprises be made naither vpon Tyndaill nor Riddesdaill, naither vpon S^r Willm Lisle and his complices till woorde shall come frome Leonarde Musgrave what therle of Angwisshe woll doe whenne and wher, &c., to thentent that everything maye be prepared for upon our bordo's accordingly.

[Endorsed]. A certeyne memoriall to my Lord of Northumberland touching the orderying of the bordres.

XLIX.

(P. 407.)

GRANTS MADE BY THE SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND IN 1531, FOR PIOUS PURPOSES.¹

January.—The Chauntry founded in the Earls Chapel at Topcliffe is granted to Sir William Coppam, Priest, "in consideration of his virtuous disposicion" and for his "recommenda-cion and prayers" for the souls of the Earls ancestors—"espeyciallie his fathers."

August.—Letters "giving and confirming to God and the Friars of St. Mary of Mount Carmel located at Hulne in the Forest of Alnwick the whole of the manse there together with an anual alms of twenty marks with the fishery and horsbote, heybote, firebote, and full ingress and agress of the Port, with honey and wax out of the Park;" pasture for eight oxen, two horses, twenty-five cows, one bull, given to the said Friars by the Earls ancestors, with additional pasture for eight oxen sixteen cows and two horses.

¹ From the "Book of Grants of the Sixth Earl of Northumberland," *Syon House MSS.* B. II. 5.

December.—Grant to Sir George Lancaster, the Earls chaplain, of “the Hermitage bilded in a rock of stone within Warkworth Park in honour of the blessed Trinity, “with a yearlie stipend of twenty marks” and with right of occupation of “the little gres-ground called Coney Garts;” also the Garden and Orchard belonging to the hermitage “with pasture for twelve kine one bull and two horses, and a draft of fish every Monday, and twenty lodes of firewood.

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L.

LICENCE TO ALIENATE LANDS IN KENT.

(P. 417.)

Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Mary his wife and Ingelram Percy, are authorised to alienate the manors of Westwood, Estwell, Rokesle, Horsmondon, Tyrlingham, Northcray, Newyngton, Bartram, and twenty messuages, 300 acres of land, 300 acres of meadow, 300 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood and 100 shillings rent in the aforesaid manors, and the moiety of the hundred of Folkestone, all in the County of Kent, to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Thomas Cheney, John Baker, Thomas Wharton, Henry Whyte, and William Walsingham, to hold to them and the heirs of the said William Walsingham for ever.

Granted at Westminster 1st April, 1531.¹

LI.

(P. 445, foot-note 2.)

PETITION OF THE ABBOT AND CONVENT OF SALLEY TO
SIR THOMAS PERCY.

1536.

To the Honorable and our most special good Master,
Sir Thomas Percy, Knight.

In most humble wise sheweth and complaineth unto your most noble Mastership your daily orators and bedemen the Abbot and Convent of the monastery of our blessed Lady of Salley, of your most ancient and noble ancestors' foundation, in whom at all times hath rested our only joy and comfort, and yet doth, and by the grace of Jhesu so shall do; and therefore in our right hearty manner and humble wise desireth your especial good Mastership to consider and tender our most urgent causes and need at this present time, by reason of the suppression of our monastery, as well of all ornaments, goods, chattels, as other

¹ Letters Patent, 22 Henry VIII. p. 1. m. 4, Record Office.

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large profits, to our utter impoverishment, and especially to the utter destruction of the pure and perpetual gifts and grants of your ancestors, most noble, for prayer, alms, and hospitality, with other deeds and works of [char]ity and man's relief there to be had and maintained, standing and being in a barren country, betwixt [the] King's Forests, as the inhabitants and the whole country testifieth and well considereth; and that not only in the aiding and supporting us your bedemen to the entering and having your foundation to the former use and intent above-said, but only in this our necessity doth assist, help, and comfort us in word, deed, and large benevolence, and surely is very willing to extend and continue in all times, when need shall so require, and that [for] the better expedition of the most devout Pilgrimage of Christ's Faith and the Common wealth by your and yours singulares well furnished to no si[ight] comfort and courage to hear of you, and in the premises to give their whole aid and assistance in all these parts, and so very willing and glad to proceed in the said pilgrimage without any other delay or stay to be had or made to the contrary, and that because [the] whole noise and bruit in these parts is, the Captain * should have left and discharged himself of the Captainship, but also is judged and supposed an order to be taken for religious houses suppressed, the farmers or other to enter and occupie, and the Abbot or Prior and Brethren to have and take at their delivery their necessities, and so to be avoided of possession unto the Parliament, whereof not only the place but also the time is as yet not perceived to be; wherefore men's hearts hath no little suspect, vexation, and great disdain, in doubting the great enormities and danger that might ensue and come to them, but as well to us by our most sinister back friend Sir Arthur Darcy and other, who hath procured and yet intendeth to the uttermost of his power and diligence to put us [to] great inconvenience and destruction, if he so may obtain; against whom and all other the Commons in these parts is willing, and so sore us doth monish and counsel, surely to continue and abide in our said house, a[nd ser]ve God as heretofore hath done, not considering nor [no]twithstanding any other causes to the cont[rary.] In consideration whereof it may please your honorable Mastership to tender, ponder, and consider of your habundant dexterity and good zeal to your bedehouse and foundation in this our great distress and heaviness, to minis[ter] and shew to your orators your said pleasure and counsel touching the premises, and that for the bett[er ma]intenance and succour of your bedehouse, which hath been heretofore well stayed and helped by the right worshipful Sir Stephen Hamerton, Knight, your

* Aske.

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assured lover and friend, and by Nicholas Tempest, Esquire, unto whom t able to deserve ne acquit of their great goodness, save only by prayer, except it would please re to minister unto them condign with your further to them and us.¹

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LII. (PART I.)

SIR THOMAS PERCY'S ACTS OF REBELLION.

(P. 445.)

“A brief Remembrance of the demeanour of Sir Thomas Percy, Knight, in the county of Northumberland, in the time of the late rebellion, 1536.

“1. First, how the said Sir Thomas Percy behaved himself in Yorkshire, in setting forward as much as in him was the East Riding there, and with such number as he could make; how gorgeously he rode through the Kings' Highness' city of York in complete harness, with feathers trimmed, as well as he might deck himself at that time; which did shew well he did nothing constrained, but of a willing malicious stomach against his most natural and dread sovereign Lord; and what writings he made in his name upon pain of death, as, divers placards, precepts, and other, signed with his hand; and made entry upon lands belonging to other the King's Highness true subjects; and how many acts he there did against his duty of allegiance, the whole country there can bear witness. But in the county of Northumberland, after that Sir Raif Ellerker and Robert Bowes was sent from the Commons at Doncaster to the King's Majesty, partly of his doings hereafter followeth.

“2. The said Sir Thomas, immediately after the meeting at Doncaster as said is, he with all speed repaired to Northumberland to his house at Pridhowe: to whom at his first coming resorted the most notable offenders both of Tyndale and Hexhamshire, that had done most harm to all the true inhabitants of the country, and with him was as familiar as they had been his own household servants, and specially John Heron of Chipches and his friends, Edward Charlton, Cuddy Charlton, Geoffrey Robson, Anthony Errington, with such other; which was a great encouragement to all malefactors and evil doers, and a discomfort and great desolation to all poor true people that had suffered oppressions afore, by the aforesaid persons and their complices.

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII., Northern Rebellion Papers.*

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“3. Item, notwithstanding the said Sir Thomas had neither authority by the King's Majesty nor yet by my Lord of Northumberland, then his Highness' Warden of the East and Middle Marches, he toke upon him as Lieutenant of the Middle Marches, and all to th' intent that under the colour of that office he might move and stir the King's people, and to muster them at his pleasure for the fulfilling of his malicious mind against his most . . . duty of allegiance.

“4. Item, immediate after his said coming, he and his brother, Sir Ingram Percy, appointed a meeting at Rothebery, within the said county of Northumberland, commanding all the gentlemen of the country to be there for the establishment of Tyndale and Riddesdale, and that the poor folks which were by them robbed and spoiled should be likewise recompensed, or else to have such remedy provided for them as might best be devised; which supposed to the whole country to be true and of a faithful meaning, a great part of the inhabitants of Northumberland, as well gentlemen as other, resorted thither, where they always looking for some good directions to be taken in the premises, notwithstanding that the head and chief offenders of Tyndale and Riddesdale was there present, that had done so many great and open robberies and spoils, yet there was none of them once rebuked with word of displeasure for their ill-doings, but rather cherished and much made of, and none other order taken, save a manner of an abstinence for twenty days, which was also in words and nothing in deeds; for in the same time they as well committed robberies as afore, and in the end, such gentlemen as afore, at the meeting at Alnwick afore Sir Ingram was not sworn, there were enforced to take their oaths.

“5. Item, the said Sir Thomas spake with parson Ogle, and first after loving manner moved him that he would deliver a casket with money of Sir Raynold Carnaby's, which he supposed was in the said parson's keeping; and the same being to him denied by the said parson, the said Sir Thomas gave him great words and menaced him to do him displeasure; and likewise he moved one John Ogle of Ogle Castle to deliver him such plate of Sir Raynold Carnaby's as was in his custody, and because he said nay, in like manner he departed with him at open defiance, with such cruel words as he thought good; and all to have had ready money, whereby he thought he might maintain the better his naughtily and wrong begun quarrel.”

[Paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, and 17, relate to other acts done by Sir Thomas against Sir Raynold Carnaby.]

“10. Item, he was divers times at Hexham on market days and openly in the Abbey demanded the inhabitants there what help or aid he might have of them in the quarrel of the

Commons, which his words encouraged many evil disposed persons to be worse minded against the King's Majesty than they would have been, but only by his provocation.

"11. Item, he promised to have aided the Commons with 500 Northumberland spears, which, when he had made all the means he could, and might not be able to fulfil his intended purpose, he was so ashamed of himself that he sent his priest to the Commons with his excuse, and was not by reason thereof at the meeting last at Doncaster.

"12. Item, the said Sir Thomas came to the Castle of Harbottell in Riddesdale, and was with John Heron of Chipches there one night; and would have met as Lieutenant of the Middle Marches with the officers of Scotland, which they perceiving his usurped authority, without any special grant from the King's Highness or his Warden, refusing to meet him, he, disappointed of his purpose as void, rode to Alnwick to his brother Sir Ingram.

"13. Item, the said Sir Thomas made forth divers letters to the gentlemen of the country, and took upon him as Lieutenant, and commanded them in the King's name, after a colourable sort, many times, to meet for the stay of the country, which at no time he minded, but only for the fulfilling of his own mind.

"14. Item, when he perceived that the countrymen should perceive and know that he did wrong, and that he had none authority to occupy as Lieutenant, and that the Earl of Northumberland, knowing his demeanours, had appointed my Lord Ogle and other the most worshipful of the country to bear office, which would do their devors to serve the King's Highness faithfully according to their most bounden duty, then, when as proclamation was made at Newcastle, Morpeth, and other market towns declaring their authority, the said Sir Thomas caused likewise proclamations to be made in the same places in his name, by reason whereof such division was in the country that the poor men could not know to whom they should sue for justice, or to have remedy for offences committed.

"15. Item, the said Sir Thomas Percy, when as the Lord Ogle, being admitted as Vice Warden, had proclaimed a warden court to be kept at Morpeth for the wealth of the country, in executing justice, he with all the friends he could make made assembly together, and his brother Sir Ingram, in like manner, to have stopped the keeping of the said Warden court by force, whereof when the Lord Ogle had word by counsel of his friends, not willing to make any trouble in the country to (till) further of the King's Highness' pleasure were known, and specially so soon after that the Commons were stayed after the late rebellion, did put off and defer the keeping of the said court at that time

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* * *

"18. Item, since the pardon granted also what things hath been by him procured to be done against his duty of allegiance, in causing new oaths to be made in Northumberland, as many other, upon inquiries had, there is no doubts but the same will appear, which as yet is not come to light."

LII. (PART II.)

SIR INGRAM PERCY'S DOINGS IN THE TIME OF THE SAID
INSURRECTION, 1536.

(P. 446.)

"19. First, the said Sir Ingram Percy being discharged of the Vice-wardenry at Midsummer last, which he gave up willingly to my Lord his brother, being Warden, and said he would no more occupy, yet notwithstanding the same, when as he knew of the rising and great insurrection of the Commons, he being at Alnwick Castle, one of the chief strengths and greatest hold of the Borders, he took upon him as head and ruler of the country of Northumberland, and sent for all the gentlemen there to be afore him at the said Castle of Alnwick which his commandment the inhabitants of the country supposing it had been for the stay of Tyndale and Riddesdale, which then was lately broken, as willing to the reformation of the said countries, they all which had warning repaired thither.

"20. Item, at the coming of the gentlemen, they all desirous to hear what directions should be taken for the wealth of the country, as well for the stay of the broken countries of Tyndale, Riddesdale, and Hexhamshire, as also for the defence of the Commons of bishopric of Durham and their complices, being the King's rebels at that time, the said Sir Ingram, in the open audience of them all, toke a letter forth which one John Lumley, brother in law to John Heron of Chipches, had brought from the Commons, which letter he caused to be read, and also certain articles for that purpose devised, according to the contents whereof he compelled every man there to be sworn; and notwithstanding divers and many persuasions made to him to the contrary by the gentlemen there which did owe their faithful duty to their most dread sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, yet say what they would, no remedy, but all there must swear or else do worse; and so the most part of the said gentlemen, [per]ceiving his mind, never after repaired unto him; [notwithstand]ing for that time, being enclosed in the said Castle of Alnwick, will they or not, sworn they were.

"21. Item, the said Sir Ingram daily as much as he might with all his possible power moved and stirred the Gentlemen of Northumberland to be of the Commons' part against the King's Highness, insomuch as because Sir Raynold Carnaby and his friends would not be sworn, he would not suffer them to remain within the country, but only in such strongholds as he could not come at them to do them harm.

"22. Item, the said Sir Ingram, because he had not authority under the King as Vice-warden, by reason whereof he could not have such stroke in the country as he would have, he found means that the Abbot of Alnwick and other friends that he made went to th' Earl of Northumberland, then being at Wresill, and they informing him that the said Sir Ingram was true unto the King, and that if he were officer in the country he would rule it according to the King's Highness' pleasure, as well in defence of the Commons as repressing the misdeameaned persons there, he, upon their information, supposing the same to be true, wrote a letter to Sir Ingram Percy his brother, desiring him to take upon him as Vice-warden and Sheriff of the Shire of Northumberland under him, for that year, and also Lieutenant of the East Marches, with the fees accustomed; which letter to him delivered, he a good space afterward rode to my Lord his brother being then at York, and because he supposed no man durst take upon hand to occupy those rooms but he, seeing he was in such favour as he was with the Commons, he made plain answer to my said Lord that he would not meddle with the said offices unless he had 700 marks for the Vicewardenry, and 100 marks for the Lieutenantry; which his fashion perceived to my said Lord his brother, he was discharged as well thereof as of all other offices that he could disch[arge him of.]

"23. Item, the said Sir Ingram, at his said being at the City of York, openly to my Lord his brother spake such malicious words as were abominable to any true man to hear, and specially touching my Lord Cromwell such shameful reports as were too much to be heard, wishing him, being of the King's most honorable Council, to be hanged as high and he might look unto, and if he were there present, as he wished to God he were, he would put his sword in his belly; with such other, as not only my Lord his brother himself, I doubt not, will testify, but also divers of his servants being there at that time.

"24. Item, the said Sir Ingram, after his brother Sir Thomas Percy was comed forth of Yorkshire from the Commons, then he and his said brother appointed a new meeting at Rothebery in the said County of Northumberland, where was by them both promised faithfully to all the country they would take an order for Tyndale and Ryddesdale, whereof they all being glad,

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which was poor folks, to have their goods restored again, as they thought, thither came divers gentlemen, and for the most part of the heads of the new evil doers of Tyndale and Riddesdale was there, yet without any punishment or other rebukes was let go home, and nothing by the said Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram done, save only certain gentlemen which afore was not sworn at Alnwick, then they were sworn there.

"25. Item, the said Sir Ingram with the Lordship of Alnwick and all that he might make came accompanied with Sir Humfrey Lisle, Knight, Robert Swynnowe, and John Roddom, gentlemen, to the house of Thomas Forster, who had divers times accompanied Sir Raynold Carnaby as well in his house as in divers other places, by reason the said Sir Raynold had married his sister, he being about ward, to have besieged his house, supposing Sir Raynold Carnaby had been there. Then the said Thomas Forster, knowing his purpose, came and spake with him, shewing him it was not so; and he desiring to search his house, the said Thomas Forster was content; and when the said Sir Ingram was within, and knew Sir Raynold Carnaby [was not] there, then he sai[d] to Thomas Forster these [words] following: 'By God's heart he would be revenged of Sir Raynold Carnaby'; and when Thomas Forster desired to know what offence the said Sir Raynold had done unto him, and wherein he had offended him, he said, 'Sir Raynold Carnaby hath been the destruction of all our blood, for by his means the King shall be my Lord's heir. And now he thinketh a sport, and to ride up and down in the country, all we being sworn, and he unsworn. And this I pray you shew him, for surely I will be revenged of him.' And so after many menaces and great threatenings made, he rode to the Castle of Alnwick, and thought to have cast down a house of Thomas Gray's called Newstede, and by certain motions of men in his company did forbear the same at that time."

[Paragraphs 26, 27, 29, and 30, relate to acts done by Sir Ingram against Sir R. Carnaby, Lionel Gray, Sir Roger Gray, and Sir Robt. Ellercar. A servant of Carnaby's was put in the stocks at Alnwick Castle for 2 nights and a day.]

"28. Item, the said Sir Ingram all the time of the said insurrection made musters and assemblies of men at his pleasure, and all for the annoisance of the King's true subjects that would not be sworn, which caused the poor men of the country that they durst not do as they would have done, and according to their duty of allegiance to our most dread Sovereign Lord the King."

"31. Item, the said Sir Ingram took upon him as Sheriff of Northumberland, and kept Sheriff turns at Alnwick, making officer under him Sir Humfrey Lisle, and such other as he thought meet, and said openly there should no man there rule but his brother and he.

"32. Item, he said in the chapel within the Castle of Alnwick to Sir Thomas Percy, 'Brother, I am afraid the King agree with his Commons;' whereunto Sir Thomas answered, that it would not be so, for he was promised by them that bare the chief rules amongst the Commons, that they should never agree without his knowledge; and for the more surety he was sure they would never agree without they had a pardon granted for all offences done; 'wherefore let us do that we think to do whilst we may, and that betimes.'

"33. Item, when as my Lord Warden sent certain letters to the Lord Ogle, then being Vice-warden, and to Sir Roger Gray and Sir John Woddryngton, being Lieutenants of the Marches, for to see the country in good order, both within the county of Northumberland, and to see due redress to be made anempst¹ the part of Scotland under his charge, the said Sir Ingram caused servants of his in the King's highway to lie in wait if any such letters should come, and so took a servant of my Lord Warden's, and examined him, and certain of his letters took from him by force and opened them; and if the letter which he brought to the Lord Ogle and to the other aforementioned had been found upon him, he had been in jeopardy of his life; and so upon his oath he taking upon him he had no letters to the Lord Ogle was suffered to depart; which handling of the Warden's servant or of any other person with the Warden's letters bearing the King's authority was never seen, for his letters hath always been in the lieu and place of a safe-conduct both in England and Scotland.

"34. Item, the said Sir Ingram by chance meeting a tenant of Sir William Ogle's demanded of him what news, and he, naming himself to be the Lord Dacres tenant, said he could tell no news, but that he and his neighbours was robbed and spoiled and utterly undone, praying to God to send remedy. He made answer that the poor man was well served, for the Lord Dacres his master first was a traitor to the King and after to the Commons, which his words did well shew what mind he ought² to the King's Majesty.'—*State Papers*, Henry VIII. (Northern Rebellion), 1st Series, No. 896.

¹ I.e. against or towards.

² Owed.

APPENDIX.

LIII.

FALSE CHARGES AGAINST THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND. (P. 456.)

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"A true Declaration of
writings as well
as other persons concerning
and Insurrection that la
and of their [sa]yings since the app[ointment]
at Doncaster."

* * *

The 10th day
of November.
Before the
pardon.

"It appeareth by a bill signed with the ha[nd] of
th Earl of Northumberland that he by the co[nsent] of the
Barons and Commonalty have licens[ed] and granted unto
Robert Aske, Captain, to have his Castle of Wrysyll for him
and his assigns, and the rule of all his tenants, during such time
[as they] should lie there in garrison ; and also [gave him by the
said] bill his spice-plate¹ at Watton Abbey ; whereby the said
Earl committed high treason for that he maintained the said
Aske."

*State Papers, Henry VIII., (Northern Rebellion),
1st Series, No. 404.*

LIV.

THE SECOND RISING. (P. 464.)

Examinations of Servants of Sir Thomas and Sir
Ingram Percy.

1536.
19 Feb.

[This
document
is much
defaced.]

"19th Febr. 1536, in the Tower of London, before the right
worshipful Mr. John Tregunwell Mr. Richard Layton and
Mr. Thomas Legh, Doctors of Law, in presentia mei Jo. R.
Notarii publici &c.

"Oswald Rede, servant to Sir Thomas Percy, examined, saith
. . . . that his master Sir T. Percy had been in Lincoln-
shire at . . . Talboyes, and there hunted a day or twain. He
returned . . . and went to my Lady his mother at Semer,
and, there being [told] that they were up in the country about,
prepared to go home, and took this examinee and another
servant with him ; and, being five miles in his way toward

¹ These two words are almost indistinguishable, and were at first considered doubtful, but the same term is used in another document.

Pickering, met with one Percy and William Middleton, which shewed this examinee's master that he was set for all that way, which made him to return back to my Lady his mother's house again, intending to have gone home on the morrow by the moors away; and being at my said Lady's house, the same night came to him star, Nicholas Howborne, William Burwell, and another gentleman, which were Captains, with a great number of persons, and the said four captains came into the said house, and took this examinee's master and swore him, and so went to the Muster on the morrow, where were gathered a four or five thousand men, and afterward went to the spoil of . . . Chamley. And of the last commotion of Bigod he can nothing say, but that there came a chaplain of Sir T. Percy to him to Northumberland, and said that Halom was taken at Hull; and otherwise he can nothing say of that commotion."

This evidence is generally confirmed by "John Hedley, Percival Gallon, and Percival Yarrowe, servants to Sir Ingram Percy."

"Richard Gyll, servant to Sir Ingram Percy, examined saith time of the first insurrection as his Master was to take a stay touching Tyndale and Riddesdale the gentlemen of the country came to them a letter from the co. . . . Bishoprick in the name of Captain Pouertie of this effect that . . . should swear the same oath that they did and stay the Percy Scotland, and kepe them in a readiness, or else the ca of the Bishoprick would comand them Wh and all the gentlemen and commons there gave the same oath; and after that Sir Ingram came not thence all the time of the first insurrection, but tarried there to stay the country and keep it from robbers and from the Scots, as he saith."

State Papers, Henry VIII., (Northern Rebellion),
1st Series, No. 2499.

LV.

TRIAL OF SIR THOMAS PERCY.

(P. 465.)

Trials and convictions of the Lords Darcy and Hussey or Huse (and others).—Treason, in levying war against the King.—Court of the Lord High Steward and Peers, 15 May, 1537. 29 Hen. VIII.¹

York county and city, and county of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull (date partly defaced).—Special Commission for

M. 23.
29 Hen. 8.

¹ Baga de Secretis, Pouch X, Bundle 2. From *Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix II. p. 247.

CHAP. IX.

—

receiving indictments of all treasons and offences, addressed to Thomas Duke of Norfolk ; Thomas Tempest, Knight ; William Eure, Knight ; Marmaduke Constable the elder, Knight ; Ralph Ellerker, the younger, Knight ; Ralph Eure the younger, Knight ; Robert Bowes ; William Bagthorpe ; and John Uvedale or any three of them ; the same to be returned into Chancery.

M. 22.

Yorkshire.—Grand jury panel of 25, returned pursuant to the preceding precept, in which Christopher Danby, Knight, is foreman.

M. 21.

Yorkshire.—Another similar panel of 25, in which James Strangewith, Knight, is foreman.

M. 17.

Wednesday, the eve of the { Yorkshire.—Indictment taken at Ascension, 9 May, 29 Hen 8. } the Castle of York charges, that Thomas Darcy, late of Tempyl Hirst, in the county of York, Knight ; Lord Darcy, otherwise Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy, late of Tempyl Hyrst in the said county, Knight ; Robert Constable, late of Flamborough, in the County of York, Knight ; Francis Bygott, otherwise Bygod, late of Sedryngton, in the said county, Knight ; Thomas Percy, late of Seymure, in the same county, Knight ; John Bulmer, late of Wilton, in the same county, Knight ; Margaret Cheyne, wife of William Cheyne, late of London, Esquire ; Stephen Hamerton, late of Wygglysworth, in the county of York, Knight ; George Lumley, late of Thwyng, in the said county, Esquire ; Ralph Bulmer, late of London, Esquire, son and heir apparent of the said John Bulmer, Knight ; Robert Aske, late of Awghton, in the said County, Gentleman ; James Cokerell, late of Lythe, in the said county, clerk, rector of the parish church there, formerly Prior of the church or priory of Gysborough, in the said county ; Nicholas Tempest, late of "Baschehalle," in the said county, Esquire ; William Wood, late Prior of the priory of Bridlington, in the said county ; John Pykeryng, late of Lythe, in the said county, clerk ; John Pykeryng, late of Bridlington, in the said county, brother of the order of Preaching Friars ; Adam Sedlar, Abbot of the monastery of Jervaulx in the said county ; and William Thriske, late of Fountains, in the said county, clerk, otherwise William Triske, late Abbot of the monastery of Fountains ; did, 10th October, 28 Hen. 8, as false traitors, conspire and imagine, at Shirbourne, in the county of York, to deprive the King of his royal dignity, viz., of being on earth Supreme head of the Church of England, and to compel the King to hold a parliament, and did commit various rebellions and insurrections, &c., at Pontefract, divers days and times before the said 10th day of October.

And furthermore, that at Doncaster, 20th October, 28 Hen. 8. they assembled and conspired to levy war against the King. And that, although the King had graciously pardoned them the

conspirators, all offences committed by them from the beginning of the rebellion to 10th December, 28 Hen. 8, nevertheless they, the Lord Darcy, &c., a persevering and continuing in their treasons, did subsequently to such pardon, viz., the 17th January, 28 Hen. 8, at Sedryngton, Tempyl Hyrst, Flam bourghe, and Beverley, compass and imagine to deprive the King of his royal dignity, viz., of being on earth supreme head of the Church of England, and to compel the King to hold a parliament and convocation of the clergy of the kingdom, and to annul divers good laws made for the common weal of the people of England, and to depose and deprive the King of his royal power, liberty, state, and dignity, by force and danger of death. Also charges that after the pardon, viz., 28th January, 28 Hen. 8, at Tempyl Hyrst, &c., they mutually despatched various letters and correspondence to each other.

Furthermore, that Bygott and Lumley, 21st January, 28 Hen. 8, at Sedryngton, &c., with a great multitude and power of armed men, publicly proclaimed divers treasons to excite the King's lieges to levy war against the King.

And that Bygott and Lumley, and other persons, to the number of 500, 22 January, 28 Hen. 8, with arms, levied war against the King; and thus the jury say that Bygott and Lumley conspired to levy a public and cruel war against the King.

And the jury find that the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Margaret Cheyne, Stephen Hamerton, Ralph Bulmer, Robert Aske, Nicholas Tempest, James Cokerell, William Wood, John Pykeryng of Lythe, John Pykeryng of Bridlington, Adam Sedlar, Abbot of Jervaulx, and William Thriske, Abbot of Fountains, did on the 22nd day of January, &c., aid and abet the said Francis Bygott and George Lumley in their before mentioned treasons.

Marked "Billa vera" in the margin.

BUNDLE 3.

Trial and conviction of Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bygott, and others, implicated in the risings in the North.—Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, 16 & 17 May, 1537, 29 Hen. VIII.

Yorkshire.—Indictment against Thomas Darcy Lord Darcy; Robert Constable, Knight; Francis Bygott, Knight; Thomas Percy, Knight; John Bulmer, Knight; Margaret Cheyne; Stephen Hamerton; George Lumley; Ralph Bulmer; Robert Aske; James Cokerell; Nicholas Tempest; William Wood;

M. 11

CHAP. IX. John Pykeryng of Lythe, John Pykeryng of Bridlington; Adam Sedlar and William Thriske, to the effect before set forth (Bundle II. m. 17, 18, 19.). Indorsed "Billa vera." Over the names of Robert Constable and all the subsequent parties, is the note of their having pleaded.

M. 10. Wednesday, the eve of the { Yorkshire.—A separate panel, Ascension, 9 May, 29 Hen. 8 { entitled an inquisition, taken at the castle of York, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, &c., by which Christopher Danby, Knight, and the other grand jurymen of his panel, find the two bills annexed to the inquisition to be true.

M. 16. 12 May, 29 Hen. 8. Middlesex and Yorkshire.—Special commission, whereby Thomas Audeley, Knight, Chancellor of England; Thomas Cromwell, Knight, Lord Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Henry Marquis of Exeter; John Earl of Oxford; George Earl of Salop; Henry Earl of Essex; Thomas Earl of Rutland; Henry Earl of Cumberland; Thomas Earl of Wilts; Robert Earl of Sussex; Edward Viscount Beauchamp; William Fitzwillyam, Knight, Admiral of England; William Paulet, Knight; John Baldewyn, Knight; Richard Lister, Knight; Walter Luke, Knight; William Shelley, Knight; John Russell the Elder, Knight; or any four of them, are appointed justices of Oyer and Terminer, for trial of all offences committed in the county of York. Sessions to be held at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex.

MS. 5 & 6. Yorkshire and Middlesex.—Precept addressed by Sir Thomas Audeley and the Justices to the Sheriff of York, commanding him to return at Westminster, on Wednesday, the 16th of May, a Petty jury.

Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bygott, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Margaret Cheyne, Stephen Hamerton, George Lumley, Ralph Bulmer, and Robert Aske, are brought to the bar, and being arraigned, plead Not Guilty.

Entry of the return of the jury, who, being sworn and charged, retire to consider their verdict; but before they return into Court, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Margaret Cheyne, and Stephen Hamerton, plead Guilty; and afterwards the Jury return, and find a verdict of Guilty against Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bygott, George Lumley, and Robert Aske.

And as to the said Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Margaret Cheyne, and Stephen Hamerton, they are discharged from giving any verdict, the plea of Guilty being recorded.

And as to the said Ralph Bulmer, they are by the consent of the King's Sergeants-at-Law and Attorney discharged from giving any verdict.

The law officers of the Crown pray judgment. Judgment. Margaret Cheyne to be drawn to West Smithfield and burned:

APPENDIX.

and Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bygott, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Stephen Hamerton, George Lumley, and Robert Aske to be drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, in the usual manner.

CHAP. IX.

LVI.

PRIVATE DEBTS OF THE SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(Pages 473, 475.)

"The boke of my lorde of Northumblands debts.

First owing to Robert Clerke, baker, for brede and floure	ix li v s viij d
Item owing to John Maye, alebruer, for ale	vj li xiiij s viij d
Item owing to Robert Hamon, berebruer, for bere and wood	xxij li xj s iiij d
Item owing to Nicholson, Wiff, pulter, for pultry stuff	xx li vj s x d ob
Item owing to Edmund Randyshe, bocher, for beoffs muttons veales and lambes	xxij li vj s xj d
Item owing to Robert Reynalde, fishemonger, for salt store and seefishe	x li xvj s vj d
Item owing to Ch. nbers, Pulter, Hitchington Wiff T. . . lor, pikemonger, and other to pultry stuff, fresshefishe, and pikes taken of them by Richard Walthame	C. . ix s ij d
Item owing to Thomas Jenett Talough, chaundelor, for w. salte sawses and other necessa	vijl i vij s x d
Item owing to am Greynfelde, wiff, for butter	lxiiij s v d
Item owing to John Bage, grocer, for spics	xviij li iiij s ix d ob
Item owing to William Baynard, wax chaundelo[r, for] wax taken of hym	xxvj s viij d
Item to Dav wiff, for washing my lo en stuff belonging to my lords chamber	xiiij s
Item owing to Roger Whitereason, for xx sakks charecoles	vj s viij d
Item owing to William Jekett, for the mete of my lordes horses and his seunts horses, as apperithe in a boke of the same xxx li xiiij s ix d And for half a beof xiiij s viij d, and for the hire of his bedd and occupacion of his house and hire of kechin stuff and other stuff, viij li iiij s vi d	xxxix li xj s xj d

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CHAP. IX.	Item owing to the Lorde Latymer, for money borowed of hym of olde tyme	lxvj li xiiij s iiij d
—	Item owing to Sr. Roger Cholmeley, Knight, of the Northe for money borowed of hym	xl li
	Item owing to William Harington, of Yorke, for money [bo]rowed of hym by my lorde his Father	xl li
	Item owing to Robert Trappes, goldesmythe, for money borowed [of] hym	xxxviij li x s
	Item owing to Pykering, for Silks taken of hy[m, wher]of pte was sent to my lady, and the [re]sidue carried in the Northe, and ther spoiled by Ask	lxxij li xvj d
	Item owing to Thomas Hamon Skynnr of London, for olde debt to Thomas Dalton Skynner which the said Hamon was contented to take hand xiiij li xij s v d ob q by warrunt And also for a ff[urr] of blake Jenetts laide in purple Saten, whiche was spoyled by Aske, wt other ffurres for night gownes, xx li viij s iiij d	xxxiiij li ix d ob q
	Item owing to Creker, Shomaker, for bootes showes slipps and buskyns, wherof pte was carried in to the Northe at my lords last going downe, and spoiled by Aske	xiiij li xiiij s vj d
	Item owing to John Blage, grocer, for Spics taken of hym ij yeris syns and carried to Topcliff, as apperith by a bill	xvj li x s
	Item to Sr. William Fairfax, for the arrerags of the Shrefwike of Northumbr for ij yeris after xl li by yere, stredid to hym for the Kings Eschequor	iiij li
	Also to Sr. George Darcy, for the arrerags of oone yere stredit vnto hym in like manner, xl li, for the payment wherof Doctor Stephens and the said William standethe bounden by obligacon and for discharge, the said Erle did graunte his warraunt to be paid out of the manor of Tadcaster wherupon x li pcell of the same is paid, and so remayneth vnpaid	xxx li
	Also to Sr. C cliff for the arrerags of h Lieuantshipp of the Marches, 1 li and other . . . to William Carnaby for the same, as Cuthbert Carnaby tolde William Stapleton	C li

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To the Mr of Sempringham	xl li	CHAP. IX.
To Skut, the Quenes taylor	v li vij s iiij d	—
To William Dale o lent for bieng of wyne	vij li	
Thomas Ashe, poticary	vj li vs iiij d	
To Mr. Thomas Henage, vpon an obligacon whiche the said Erle saieth that he did paye the same to the said Mr. Henage at my lorde Steward house called litle Seint Albons at Westm	C iiij li	
To Laurance Warren, goldesmythe, for a floure of diamonds	xx li	
An obligacon dated quinto Augusti anno xix Henr viij, wherein the said Erle was bounden to Nicholas Vinacheis in CC li for the payment of Cxliij li viijs ixd at divers daies nowe rone as apperithe by the condicon	Cxliij	
An other obligacon single dated the vjth daye of Decembr anno supdeo wherein the said Erle standeth bounden for the payment of CCiiij ^{xx} j li xjd to be paid the vj daye of January following	CCiiij ^{xx} j li xjd	
Item it apperith upon the same obligacon that the said Erle rec ed more	1 li	
Item due vnto wiif, for her pencion assigned behinde for ij yeris and a half [ended] at Easter last past	D mark	
More put in by the informacon of William Stapleton that the said Erle oweth to oone Harington, mechaunt of Yorke, for money lent, for the which the [sam]e Erle is now put in sute for by [oblig]acon	1x li	
Item due to a e Sadeler called Kingeston, by warraunt of the Erle for sadelly and such stuff	vij li iiij s	
More put in due to Sr. Thomas Thorne-ton, preest psone of Mokton, as apperith by a bill and ij warrants	xxij li	
Item due to Henry Wetherell, for money laid out by hym for costes of sute in the lawe	xlvi s viij d	
Item due to George Hyll, grocr, in the right of his wiif executrix to	Rudd gent vj li	
	S m to G. MvijClxj li. vj s. jd ob.	

From *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, Vol. IV. No. 3379. The date of the year 1527 is assigned to

APPENDIX.

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—

this document, and the debts cited are attributed to the *Fifth* Earl of Northumberland. This is, however, clearly a mistake; since allusion is made to Aske's Rebellion in 1536-37. The list was probably prepared in 1537 after the death of the *Sixth* Earl, to whose liabilities it refers.

The Book of my Lord of Northu[m]berland's Debts].

Moneys owing to sundry persons for bread, flour, ale, wood, poultry, beefs, muttons, veals, lambs, fish, white lights, salt, sauces, butter, spices, wax, washing linen stuff, charcoals, horse-meat, silks, furs, boots, shoes, slippers, buskins, loans, arrears of the Sherifffwick of Northumberland, fees of lieutenants of the Marches, wine, bonds, diamonds. Also to the Queen's tailor and to the "poticary." Part of the silks, furs, boots, &c., were carried into the North, "and there spoiled by Aske."

"Item due to my Lady his wife for her pension for her living, behind for two years and a half, ended at Easter last past, 500 marks."

Sum total . . . £1,689 15s. 5½d.

From *Original State Papers*. Henry VIII. Northern Rebellion.

ADDITION TO APPENDIX II. P. 487.

II. A.

HENRY PERCY AND WILLIAM WALLACE.

(P. 61.)

“BLIND HARRY” in his *Acts and Deeds of the most famous and Valiant Champion Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie*, relates this anecdote :—

“On the 23rd of April, 1296, Wallace went to fish in the Irvine Water. He was unarmed, and accompanied only by a boy to help in carrying the net. He had caught fish ‘abundantlie,’ when Percy came riding by on his way to Glasgow. Five of his followers stopped and demanded some of the fish. Wallace answered ‘meeklie’ that they were welcome to a share, and told the lad to give them some. They, however, not contented with this portion, dismounted, and seized the whole in spite of the owner’s remonstrance, telling him that he had their leave to fish for more. Wallace retorted ‘Ye are in the wrong,’ upon which one of them drew his sword; but Wallace struck him down, with the net pole apparently, and then, snatching his sword from him, killed him on the spot. In the onslaught which ensued, he, in self-defence, slew two more, when the remaining two fled, and on overtaking their chief ‘cried to him to abide’ as his men were being ‘matyred down richt cruellie, here in this false region.’

“Percy asked how many their opponents had been. ‘We saw but one that has discomfited us all,’ they replied. Then he laughed loud and said, ‘Since one has put you all to confusion he shall not be sought for by me to-day.’”

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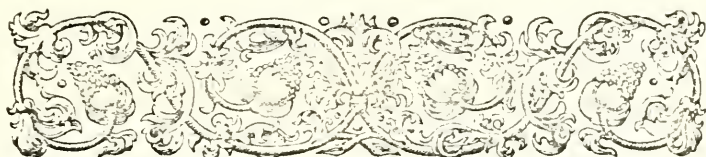
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oy Percy,
: born 1605 :
aron Percy, of
1643; Master-
of the Ordnance.
married, 1659.



JOCELINE
only son. Born
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died at Turin 21st
buried at Pe

Henry Hugh Manv
EC., Lieut.-Gen. i
Aide-de-Camp to the
of the Legion of Ho
the Medjidiee. Born
1817; died, unmarr
cember, 18

is,
ust,

Cecil James,
born 12th February,
1850; married Katherine,
eleventh daughter of Sir
C. R. Rowley

Pedigree of Percy.

Percy.



Brabant and Loubain.



Geffry, Seigneur de Percy, Lower Normandy.

WILLIAM DE PERCY,
surnamed *the Great*, first Baron de Percy. Born
cir. 1020; died in the Holy Land 1095; his heart
buried in Whitchy Abbey.

Emma de Port, Lady of Semur, near
Sens, Burgundy. Married in Whitchy
Abbey.

ALAN DE PERCY,
second Baron de Percy, surnamed *the Great*.
Born cir. 1050; died 1120;
buried in Whitchy Abbey.

Emma, daughter of Gilbert de Cont,
Baron of Ponthieu, who was a son of
Hedwin, Count of Flanders, and a
nephew of William the Conqueror.

WILLIAM DE PERCY,
third Baron de Percy. Born
1135.

Alton, daughter of Fereval,
Baron de Ros.

WILLIAM DE PERCY,
fourth Baron de Percy. Born
1142; ob. 1168.

(First) Adeline de Tancarville,
daughter of Richard, third
Earl of Clare.

WILLIAM DE PERCY,
fifth Baron de Percy. Born
cir. 1168; ob. 1198.

William de Percy,
Abbot of Whitchy.

HENRY DE PERCY,
sixth Baron de Percy. Born
cir. 1168; ob. 1198.

Isabel, daughter of Adam de
Bury, Lord of Shilton.

WILLIAM DE PERCY,
eighth Baron de Percy. Born
cir. 1198; ob. 1243;
buried at Salley Abbey.

First, Elena, daughter of Ingram de Balioi.
Secondly, Jean, daughter and co-heiress of William de Balioi.

HENRY DE PERCY,
ninth Baron de Percy. Born cir. 1225;
ob. 1272; buried at Salley.

Eleanor Plantagenet, sister daughter of
John, fourth Earl of Surrey, Sussex, and
Warwick, by Alice, half sister to King
Henry III.

John de Percy,
died in infancy.

Henry de Percy,
second son, fourth Baron de Percy, first Lord Percy of Alnwick.
Born 1225; ob. 1315; buried at Taugton Abbey.

Mary, (first wife, daughter of Henry
Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, and great
granddaughter of Henry III., by Blanche
of Artois, niece of Louis IX. of France.
She died 1362.

Henry de Percy,
eleventh Baron de Percy, second Lord Percy of Alnwick, K.R.
Born 1299; ob. 1353; buried in Alnwick Priory.

Margaret (first wife, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, sister of Ralph,
first Earl of Westmoreland. Ob. 1310.

Henry de Percy,
twelfth Baron de Percy, third Lord Percy of Alnwick.
Born 1320; ob. 1368.

SIR HENRY PERCY, K.G.
first Baron of the Marches. Born 1366;
died 1402; buried at the Battle of Shrewsbury, 21st July,
1403.

Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, fourth Earl of
March, by Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, Duke
of Clarence, third son of King Edward III. He married
secondly, Thomas, Baron of Camoy, who fell in the
French wars in 1401.

SIR THOMAS PERCY, K.G.
second Baron of the Marches. Born 1396;
died 1455; buried at the Battle of Tewkesbury, 29th May,
1471.

Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of David de
Stratford, third Earl of Arundel.

SIR HENRY PERCY,
third Baron of the Marches. Born 1455;
died 1502; buried at the Battle of Tewkesbury, 29th May,
1471.

Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of David de
Stratford, third Earl of Arundel.

Seals of Percy,
second Prior of Whitchy
Abbey.

Richard,
founder of the Percies
of Dunley.

William,
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of Dunley.

William de Percy,
Baron de Rougemont.

William de Percy,
Abbot of Whitchy.

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Abbot of Whitchy.

SIR HENRY PERCY, K.G.
(first) third son of Henry I, King of England, first Earl of Northumberland, 1177-1181.
slain, 1172, 1173, at the battle of Alnwick, 21st July, 1173.



HENRY PERCY.
only son; born 1212; re- Henry V.; created Duke of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.

Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, by Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward III. She married secondly, Thomas, Baron of Carnarvon, who fell on the French wars in 1421.



HENRY PERCY.
born 1413; received as fourth Earl of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.

SIR THOMAS PERCY, of Arhol, Knight, second son. Died 1386.



Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Randolph, and widow of Robert, Lord Sciles.

Sir Henry Percy, of Arhol, Knight. 1433.



Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Randolph, and widow of Robert, Lord Sciles.

Sir Ralph Percy, seventh son. Unmarried. Slain in the action at Hedley Moor, 1414.



Sir Richard Percy, eighth son. Unmarried. Slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, 1414.

William Percy, ninth son; Chancellor of Cambridge; Bishop of Carlisle. 1413.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Ann, married, first, Sir Thomas Hungerford, Knight; secondly, Sir Laurence Rainsford, Knight; thirdly, Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knight. 1413; slain at St. Margaret's, Westminster.



Catherine, married Edmund, third Lord Grey de Ruthyn, and first Earl of Kent.

HENRY PERCY.
fourth son; born 1413; succeeded in Parliament, 1414, as Duke of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.



Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard, son and heir of Robert, Lord of Poynton, and Fitz-Roy, 1413, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Guy de Lysan, son and heir of Guy, Baron Lysan.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Sir Thomas Percy, eighth son, created Baron of Northampton, 1413. Slain in the battle of Tewkesbury, 1414.



John, slain at Wakeby.

George Percy, sixth son, a prebendary of St. John's in Beverley.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Sir Ralph Percy, seventh son. Unmarried. Slain in the action at Hedley Moor, 1414.



Sir Richard Percy, eighth son. Unmarried. Slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, 1414.

William Percy, ninth son; Chancellor of Cambridge; Bishop of Carlisle. 1413.



John, slain at Wakeby.

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Catherine, married Edmund, third Lord Grey de Ruthyn, and first Earl of Kent.

HENRY PERCY, K.G.
only son; born 1413; received as fourth Earl of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.



Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord of Poynton, and Fitz-Roy, 1413, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Guy de Lysan, son and heir of Guy, Baron Lysan.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Elizabeth, married Henry, Lord of Poynton, and Fitz-Roy, 1413, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Guy de Lysan, son and heir of Guy, Baron Lysan.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Margaret, married Sir William Garsington of Garsington.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Sir William Percy, K.R., was James, widow of Sir Robert Ughill.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



John, slain at Wakeby.

HENRY PERCY, K.G.
sixth Earl of Northumberland, named 'The Magnificent'. War of the Scottish Marches. Born 1413; died 1413, slain at Wakeby.



Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Beaufort, sixth Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beaufort, sixth Duke of Warwick. 1413; slain at Wakeby.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Beaufort, sixth Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beaufort, sixth Duke of Warwick. 1413; slain at Wakeby.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Sir William Percy, K.R., was James, widow of Sir Robert Ughill.



John, slain at Wakeby.

Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



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John, slain at Wakeby.

Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



John, slain at Wakeby.

THOMAS PERCY, K.G.
seventh Earl of Northumberland; born 1413. Received as Duke of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.



Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Beaufort, sixth Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beaufort, sixth Duke of Warwick. 1413; slain at Wakeby.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Beaufort, sixth Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beaufort, sixth Duke of Warwick. 1413; slain at Wakeby.



John, Henry, and John. All died in infancy.

Sir William Percy, K.R., was James, widow of Sir Robert Ughill.



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Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



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Joel Percy, third son, Master of Trinity College, Arundel.



John, slain at Wakeby.

HENRY PERCY, K.G.
ninth Earl of Northumberland; born 1413. Received as Duke of Northumberland, 1413; slain, 1413, at the battle of Tewkesbury, 21st July, 1413.



Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Beaufort, sixth Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Beaufort, sixth Duke of Warwick. 1413; slain at Wakeby.



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John, slain at Wakeby.

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